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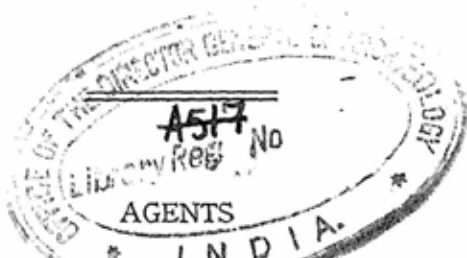
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THE NOSATSU KAI.

FREDERICK STARR.

Nosatsu definitely attracted my attention the first time that I visited Asakusa; everywhere we saw slips of paper bearing printed characters pasted up at gateways, shrines; and temples; they were stuck up on Niō, pasted in inaccessible corners, plastered in quantities upon miserable little shrines. They were clearly significant,—such careful and beautiful lettering as they showed was not to be seen on every bit of printed paper. Inquiry failed to elicit satisfactory explanation. Later on, I asked many persons, both foreigners and Japanese, what they were; the nearest to a reply that was received was that they were apparently business cards as one of them bore a man's name, his place of business, and the statement that he made *geta*. This was still unsatisfactory, for I felt convinced that these little placards could not be mere business cards. Finally, after I had troubled my interpreter with repeated inquiries, he announced with satisfaction that he had learned their meaning.

He told me that these little placards were called *nosatsu*, *ō-fuda*, or *senjā-fuda*; that there was a society, the members of which pasted such papers up at shrines and temples—known as the *nosatsu kai*; that this society was also a society of collectors, who had regular meetings; that the society was one of long establishment, with definite rules and regulations,

This seemed so interesting that I began an investigation of this organization and its doings which has continued up to the present time and which has revealed many interesting facts. The society at present numbers two hundred or more members and holds regular meetings on the twentieth of every month throughout the year except

December. There are two phases of activity—pasting and exchange. The members of the society, singly or in groups, go out on regular excursions or pilgrimages from temple to temple, pasting their *nosatsu* as they go; these same members at their monthly meetings make exchange of artistic *nosatsu*, differing with every meeting and quite unlike the plain and simple ones pasted at shrines. In reality there have been four stages in the development of *nosatsu*; (a) *nosatsu* were at first pious offerings left at temples by pilgrims; (b) those making pilgrimage and pasting *nosatsu* became interested in the slips left by others, and the practice of making collections of these began; (c) those who were collecting *nosatsu*, anxious to increase their collections, exchanged with others for placards which were not in their possession; (d) exchange on a large scale developed, until at meetings special *nosatsu* with elaborate and beautiful designs, plain or in colors, were made for the occasion. These stages were successive in the history of the development of *nosatsu*, but all four still continue.

The *nosatsu*-paster has a definite outfit and method of procedure. He carries with him a stock of his *nosatsu*, slips of paper upon which his name is printed in carefully cut characters; these are printed from wood-blocks cut by a professional engraver; the characters are carefully made Chinese characters and the name is spelled with characters selected for their auspicious meaning; it is said that for a time only a limited number of impressions was made from a single block, which was then destroyed, and a new block, slightly different from the old, cut. The *nosatsu* are usually carried in a little box made for the purpose, which prevents their being soiled or crumpled. The paster has a paste-pot, hung to his *obi*, containing paste for sticking the placards. Two brushes, attached to each other at right angles are attached to the end of a rod, with which, the *nosatsu* are stuck into place; the rod may be a single, long pole, but more commonly it is extensible, in several sections; with such a double brush at the end of the long rod the placards can

be pasted in places where it would be impossible for a human being to go.

The monthly meetings of the *nosatsu kai* are held at evening ; a hall or gathering-place is rented for the occasion, and it is expected that the proprietor of the house will serve simple refreshment as tea and cakes or sweet potatoes to the members. As each member enters the room, he pays a fee of thirty *sen* and receives a wooden tablet which serves as his receipt and indicates his right to receive the *nosatsu* which are to be distributed that evening ; he also leaves with the secretary at the door a bundle of his own *nosatsu*, in number as many as the probable attendance at the meeting ; the members distribute themselves in little groups around the room and spend the evening in conversation, examining collections, and taking refreshments ; as the hour for adjournment nears, the members seat themselves upon the floor in long lines that face each other, leaving a passageway between ; each person puts down upon the floor before him his wooden tablet, to show his right to receive exchange ; a number of ushers now pass rapidly up and down the lines with the packages of *nosatsu* which have been left by all the members and distribute them one of each to each person ; when the distribution has been fully made, every person has received a *nosatsu* from each and every one of the members present. Such, in brief outline, is the status of the *nosatsu kai* to-day. It has, however, an interesting history behind it.

The history of *nosatsu* falls into two well defined periods.

A. The fifty-sixth emperor of Japan, Kwazan, ruled but two years—985 to 987 A.D. ; he then became a priest and assumed the title of " priestly emperor." He was a devout man, much influenced by his high-priest, Butsugan, who made a pilgrimage of the thirty-three sacred places of Kwannon, ending at Mino. He then went home. Soon after, at night, Kumano Gongen appeared in a vision to the emperor and said to him : " Because you are such a devotee of Buddha, I have been permitted to come down to earth for a time in the person of

Butsugan to instruct and lead you. The method of salvation is this. You need not come thirty-three times to my temple ; better make the round of the thirty-three sacred places and on your return go down three steps and bow." With these words, Kumano Gongen disappeared. In memory of this vision, Kwazan ordered an inscription cut in the rock of Sasado mountain, Chichibu. He encouraged also the pilgrimage of the thirty-three places sacred to Kwannon. The practice of making this pilgrimage rapidly grew in popularity. In course of time a second series of thirty-three places sacred to Kwannon was developed in the east, known as the eastern circuit ; the old round was thereafter known as the western circuit. Many pilgrims made both rounds, and the combination of the two became known as " the sixty-six places " sacred to Kwannon. Kobo Daishi developed a series of eighty-eight sacred places in the island of Shikoku, which in time became a popular pilgrimage. Many other rounds of sacred places in different parts of Japan were in time established and thousands of pilgrims made their pious journeys. In connection with these pilgrimages there grew up the practice of leaving one's name at the shrines and temples as evidence of the visit and as an act of devotion.

At first, such inscriptions may have been cut in stone ; later on, they were written or cut on wooden tablets and nailed up at the shrine or temple ; later still, they were made of brass or copper ; finally, they were of paper, at first written, afterwards printed.

A number of these old *nosatsu* left by pilgrims at popular temples and shrines are still known. At the famous temple of Kwannon at Ishiyama, one of the sacred places of the western circuit, they still have several of these. One of wood bears the inscription " 33 Places Pilgrimage—3 Persons ; " this one has no date, but seems old. Another wooden *nosatsu* at the same temple is red lacquered ; it bears the words " 33 Places Pilgrimage," and the date " Eisho 3.4.20," which corresponds to our

year 1506. Another was left by six persons in Eisho 8 (1511). One of copper was left in Tembun 15, (1546). One of unusual size, of wood, with a little niche above, perhaps for a small figure, bears a long inscription—

"Meireke 2. West Awa Province, Nishiki-gun, Amanoyama. Look upon all the people with pity; bring immeasurable happiness to the people. Let all together come over to the Buddhist doctrine. Seikoku. West Japan 33 places pilgrimage for the sake of happiness for two generations. Fifth month, fifth day. Chōju. Humbly stated." (Meireke 2 is 1656 A.D.)

Such pilgrimage made to famous shrines was not confined to the poor and lowly pious; during the Kwansai period retainers of great *daimyos* wandered far and wide on horse or foot visiting shrines and temples, leaving their names, and practising riding.

The name written on a slip of paper to be left at a temple was known as *daimei*. From the very interesting book by Setzuō, *Dai Nippon Daimei*, we learn that *daimei* has great virtue. If we paste up our *fuda* at temples and shrines, it is as if we ourselves went there and stayed for days and nights. We should do it without bad thought; should go to remote places, as many as possible; where, however, it is prohibited by the temple authorities, it should be omitted. Indulgence in pasting *daimei* gives luck, fortune, prosperity in love, freedom from disease, and offspring. It yields great happiness for three generations and serves as protection against fire and flood. The result is entirely proportionate to the piety. If one has no leisure to go personally to the shrine, benefit is gained by repeating the word "*dainei, daimei, daimei*." If we once make the entire round of sacred places, leaving *daimei*, a repetition of the journey in later years recalls the earlier journey with advantage and benefit. The *fuda* pasted up varies according to the taste of the pilgrim, but usually bears his name, address, and some virtuous term. Personal wishes should not be expressed as they are understood by the deity directly from one's own heart. The number of the visit should be marked upon the

slip, first, second, third, etc. The best *daimei* are black, plain and easily seen, and permanent, but this is a matter which may vary according to one's taste. Setzuō's book abounds in pious observations and was printed in 1790 of our reckoning. (Kwansei 2.)

B. The second period in the history of *nosatsu* comes with that strange and interesting man, Kyukoku Tengu Kohei, who died in 1817, at the age of one hundred and one years. His grave is at Taishoji, Shitaya, Tokio. He was a retainer of the *daimyo* Matsudaira Dewa of Akasaka; he is commonly known as Tengu Kohei; his real name was Nobutoshi; his pen name was Kokuya or Tengu; he was also known as Hagino Kinai. Shiba Kokan in *Shimparo Hikki* says: "He wears tattered garments and cast-off *sori* (two or three at once); his sword hangs carelessly low at his side; save for his sword he has the aspect of a beggar; he was, however, well to do; he knew Chinese characters well; he visited interesting people and composed *haikai* and *waka*; he wished his name to be well known and left it at temples and shrines." In the interesting book *Nosatsu Kigen*, we read: "Professor Kyukoku Tengu Kohei decided to restore the old custom. He was a man of many qualities and of philosophical spirit. His third son carried out the father's plan and laid the foundation of this great happiness. Many, both in city and country, imitated him, and the practice of pasting *nosatsu* had great vogue." Members of the *Nosatsu Kai* look upon this old *sensei* as the patron or founder of their organization. His *nosatsu* is now very rare. Hayashi says that in Meiji 35 one still was pasted at the gate of the main temple of Kwannon at Kamakura; Yamanaka says that three copies of his *nosatsu* still exist in collections. It has, however, been often forged and imitated and false copies are not uncommon. Tengu Kohei made a considerable impression upon the people of his time. There is still in existence a printed placard which appeared during the Tenmei era regarding him, upon which is a copy of his *nosatsu* and various facts in regard to him;

this old placard has been reprinted by Ota in Meiji 41, and has a place in most collections. In addition to all the many names of the worthy man, it contains a poem descriptive of his activities, which says: "Passing around to view scenery and places, he comes upon many old temples; arrived, he summons the page, and presents his card; in leaving he pastes it up."

While the modern custom of *nosatsu* pasting is commonly attributed to Tengu Kohei, it is probable that there were predecessors. Thus, in a picture representing Asakusa Kwannon, by Kitao Shigemasa, painted in Meiwa 5 (1768), *ō-fuda* are represented; also in a picture dating from An-ei 1 (1772). In a comic poem of An-ei 8, reference is made to a person who is writing *fuda* for a pilgrimage. These all probably antedate the activity of *sensei* Tengu Kohei.

Shortly after, several men made fame as pasters of *nosatsu*. Thus we hear that a certain Tenko of 12-Chome, Kojimachi, pasted *fuda*. Later, Kogokichi did so; he wrote his name on paper and pasted it at all the sacred places of the thirty-three and eighty-eight circuits; exactly what his name was has been debated; some think that Ko comes from Kojimachi, Go from Gochome, and that his name was Kichi, while others think that the Ko comes from Kojimachi and that his name was Gokichi. His *nosatsu* was much prized by the early collectors. From the period Kwansei to Bunkwa (1789 to 1818) Gintanitome was famous; he had a great collection and among his treasures was the *nosatsu* of Kogokichi.

Most authors state that the first great meeting for the exchange of *nosatsu* was held in Bunkwa 11.4.5. This is an error. Yamanaka has Gintanitome's original collection, in which is evidence that that date was actually Kwansei 11.4.5. (1799). It was held by a man named Nagashima (also called Gigyō), at Sanchome, Sanji-Kembori, Kyobashi. Later meetings were held at Suribachi-yama, Uyeno. Afterwards, meetings occurred at innumerable places. In time, the original purpose of the *nosatsu* was quite lost and the whole thing was only for pleasure

and exchange ; meetings were held even at houses of ill-fame, and on pleasure boats. In Bunkyu, when this was quite prevalent, many printed cards with the names of other persons. During the flourishing period as many as four or five meetings a month were held and much money was spent in having beautiful and artistic exchange *nosatsu* made. Announcements were often made in the form of tables, after the fashion of the *banzuke*, or tabular announcements of wrestlers. *Nosatsu* of large sizes were made and even famous artists were engaged in making them.

During this period of extreme popularity, a few names stand forth conspicuously. In Ansei (1854 to 1860) the most famous paster was named Omafū ; he lived at Nakabashi ; his real name was Yoshimura Keizo ; he was a master-mason by trade, but became so infatuated with *nosatsu*, that he abandoned his business entirely to his father and apprentices, and gave himself up to pasting and attending exchange meetings. The most interesting man of this time was the artist, Takenouchi (also called Manjisai), who used the artist name of Tacho ; he was a man of taste, artistic ability, and originality ; he was one of the first men in Japan to have a photographic portrait taken ; he was devoted to *nosatsu* and designed scores of fine ones. His son, Takenouchi Hisaichi, still lives and is a professor of painting in the Uyeno art school ; in one of Tacho's famous designs this man is represented, then a little boy, attending a child's exchange meeting. During this period, also, Hakukatsu (Hakusho) and Fukushin were conspicuous, both as pasters and active members of the *Nosatsu Kai*. The famous artist Hiroshige frequently attended meetings and there are dozens of *nosatsu* of his design ; Hiroshige II also designed *nosatsu* and at least one of his large color-print triptyches contains *nosatsu* motives.

In time, however, the fad wore out and the *Nosatsu Kai* came near to death. At the beginning of Meiji it had almost completely come to an end ; only a few faithful, old-fashioned, pious persons still visited shrines here and there in suburbs and

neglected places, leaving their *nosatsu*. Exchange meetings had completely ceased. Revival of interest was due to a few men, among them Okainouchiki, Uchiyoshi, Daiya, Kashiwaji, Takahashi Fuji, Kazari Bun, Tamago Kuma, Hakocho, Nishiguchi, Hiratoku, Tataume, Otaki, Hakojin, Misago Satake, Shanaikatsu, Toyomatsu, Kawaguchiki. It appears that a meeting was held at the tea-house Yasugashiwa, Shin-Yoshiwara, Yedo-Machi, Nichome 17, on the 17th day of the 11th month of Meiji 13; the place was the old house of Iyeyasu. This was the beginning of recent meetings. During the following years interest waned at times, but finally in Meiji 23.11.23. a meeting was held by Ota Setcho at the house of Sawata Nagyen. A famous meeting took place in Meiji 26.8.8. in Fukagawa, at the tea-house Kurumaya, Ryogoku. From that time onward, the society has flourished and held regular meetings, some of which recall the famous days of Ansei. For a time, indeed, there were two societies meeting once a month and in Meiji 33 a third was formed which lasted for but a short time, when all three societies united into one, that now existing.

The meeting held Taisho 2.10.18. at Takasago Club, Asakusa, marks the highest level of the society in modern years; the meeting was opened by the twelve-year-old son of "Iseman," named Tokutaro; the subject of the meeting was toys; three hundred and ten persons were present.

Among those most prominent in the society of the present day we may mention Ota Setcho, Ishii Shinbei (Ishii Shin), Onishi Asajiro (Iseman), Sato Yasujiro (Iyeyasu). These men have attended almost every meeting held for years; they have designed many beautiful *nosatsu* and are remarkably acquainted with old Yedo ideas and styles; they have been the very life of the organization. Ota Setcho has written the best book upon the subject, *Nosatsu Taikwan*.

Meetings of the *Nosatsu Kai* vary and a constant effort is made to introduce novelties. At the same time there are unwritten laws which may not be transgressed and on the whole

the society is notably conservative. Special meetings have been held on many occasions and designs appropriate have been exchanged. Thus, one meeting was held in memory of Tengu Kohei; commemorative meetings may be held in honor of deceased members, when religious services are conducted; exchange meetings are sometimes held in combination with cherry-blossom parties or boating trips; sometimes singing girls and music enliven the occasion.

We have already described the ordinary meetings of the present day. It is probable that the exchange of *nosatsu* began upon the road, between pilgrims, out on pasting expeditions, and that, later, meetings were organized for the purpose. The first charge made at meetings was not intended so much for raising revenue as to keep out uninterested persons. At the beginning the admission was sixteen coppers, a small sum, though of greater purchasing power than its equivalent would be now: from that price it has gradually mounted until to-day it is thirty *sen*. Formerly the packets of *nosatsu* intended for exchange were laid down at the door and each man helped himself; it was found necessary to adopt the present method to guard against abuse and hoggishness.

There are many kinds of *nosatsu* recognized by the initiated. *Daimei* is the simple written name for pasting; *Shikoku-henro-nosatsu* is made expressly for the eighty-eight places of Shikoku—it has no border; upon it is written the number of the different places and according to the number of rounds the pilgrim has made the color of the paper is white, red, silver, or gold; *tonori-nosatsu* were those used by soldiers and knights who made their journeys on horseback—they were rectangular and had blank spaces for the insertion of the time of departure and arrival of the rider—nowadays a similar form of *nosatsu* is used by persons who are making a round on bicycle; *kawanagare-nosatsu* are *nosatsu* intended to be thrown into a stream and carried away by it. Ota recognizes various other forms of *nosatsu* according to their purpose or their use. *Gakumen-nosatsu* are wooden

nosatsu with names in raised letter ; these tablets are prepared for a group of individuals, one for each person, and are put together into a wooden frame which is taken to a temple and dedicated for success in enterprises ; the practice flourished about Tempo 11 (1840) ; it was common for teachers of military exercise and their pupils to dedicate such *nosatsu* ; later on, any basis of union or common interest might lead a group of persons to set up *gakumen-nosatsu*. The term *doho-nosatsu* is applied to the exchange by a group of pilgrims after they have finished their pilgrimage ; it happily combines the two ideas of piety and exchange ; some of these combinations have left a lasting memory, such as the one of Meiji 37.3.21. when the party visited Oji Inari. *Senja-mairi-nosatsu*, "thousand shrines *nosatsu*," dates from the Temmei period onward ; the man starts out with a thousand *nosatsu* to be pasted at as many shrines ; when this form of *nosatsu* was at its height, temples and shrines about Yedo were filled with *nosatsu* and pasters hunted out the smallest shrines in the remotest corners ; it was during this time that the technique of pasting was developed and the full outfit invented, with its extensible pole and double brushes for high pasting. *Funai-henro-nosatsu* has reference to the going about inside the city upon a special round ; it was Kobo Daishi who founded the eighty-eight sacred places of Shikoku ; in course of time, a priest, Shoto, went to Shikoku and transferred soil from its sacred places to Yedo, where he placed it at eighty-eight temples of the city, thus forming a new circuit parallel to the famous old one of Shikoku ; he was thirty-one years of age at the time and remained in Tokio the balance of his life, dying at seventy-one years, in An-ei 12 ; pilgrims who make this round, pasting *nosatsu* at these shrines, visit the grave of the old priest. *Fujiko-nosatsu* are connected with the pilgrimage to the sacred mountain Fuji ; thousands make the pilgrimage annually ; upon it a *nosatsu* is used measuring eight by ten inches with a sign of Fuji printed on it ; this is left at tea-houses and hotels upon the pilgrimage.

Sometimes a group of members of the *Nosatsu Kai* organize what is known as a *ren*, adopting a distinctive simple mark; this mark appears on the *nosatsu* of each member of the group and such a series of *nosatsu* all bearing the same mark at the top but with differing names below are called *ren-nosatsu*; such began in Bunsei and culminated in Tempo (1830-1844); they were very popular and collections of old *nosatsu* show page after page of *nosatsu* with the same *ren*-mark at top; such *ren* are to-day uncommon but every now and then a little group will form for a single meeting or a succession of meetings and use a series of *nosatsu* with the same design above.

Nosatsu were at first written by hand in black ink; later they were printed, also in black. It was in Bunkwa that color was first used. With Tempo actual color-printing in different tints began. In Ansei much attention was given to design, etc. and it may be said that the artistic side reached its fullest development.

The general style of to-day is much like that of Bunkwa. Patterns have varied from time to time. At the end of Bunsei, much use was made of red seal-patterns; *ren-fuda* began at that time and developed in Tempo; the famous *ren*, *hakkaku-ren*, with its simple red octagon was at its glory from Tempo to Ansei. From Tempo to Ansei, views upon the Tatsuta and Sumida Rivers were popular as were the famous *genji* symbols, the fifty-three stations of the Tokaido, the twelve calendric animals, etc.; at the end of Ansei the seven gods of luck, treasure symbols, and flowers were favorite designs; with the great revival in Meiji and Taisho all sorts of devices have been used—among them toys, old coins, actors' portraits, the forty-seven *ronin*, and the Tokaido stations.

The devising of new and striking designs, in harmony with time-honored standards, is far from easy. Much ingenuity and effort are expressed in the effort toward originality and timeliness. We can but hint at some recent series that have been appreciated as notable success. At January's meeting, Taisho 1,

(the year of the rat), a series of *nosatsu* of two-unit size, bore fine *hagoita* (battledoor) designs suggestive of the month, and a rat, or some other attribute of Daikoku, suggestive of the year ; at the initial meeting of the Yokohama society, three years ago, a series reproduced old color-prints, showing the contact of Japanese and foreigners at the time of opening the port—these were recognized as of such interest that they were reissued afterward as a little book ; when Tsing Tao was taken, a series commemorated the victory and emphasized the popular satisfaction ; in November last, a fine series of designs representing the famous Kyoto "palace dolls," twenty-two different types, commemorated the Coronation ; at a farewell meeting in my honor, in May 1910, a beautiful series was made representing traditional Japanese toys, it being known that I had been interested in their study.

With Tempo the size of *nosatsu* began to be fairly defined and during Ansei it was completely standardized. The ordinary *nosatsu* for pasting purposes is a slender strip of paper with a design stamped on it measuring about two inches in width by five inches and a half in height ; a black line surrounds the design in the nature of a frame. This same size is the standard in exchange *nosatsu* ; these, however, frequently occur in much larger sizes, which are, however, always multiples of the standard. There are one, two, three, four, six, eight, twelve, and sixteen unit sizes ; *nosatsu* of double unit size may be either long and narrow, with a single breadth and double height, or they may be of the size of two side by side, with one unit height and two units breadth. Three-unit *nosatsu* are always of unit height and triple breadth, like three units side by side. Four-unit *nosatsu* may be of double height and double breadth or of single height and four unit breadth. Six-unit *nosatsu* are six units side by side. Eight-unit *nosatsu* are of two units height and four units breadth. Twelve-unit *nosatsu* are two in height, six in width. The sixteen-unit size just filled an ordinary Japanese sheet of paper. A curious feature in regard to all these large *nosatsu* is

the fact that the border is notched or broken at the point where a unit would have ended, so that one may immediately by inspection see how many unit-*nosatsu* enter into the composition. This notching or breaking of the black border easily enables one to distinguish large *nosatsu* from *surimono* or other forms of ordinary *nishikiye*. At times it has been fashionable to make small *nosatsu* and a common size has been a quarter-unit size. For a short time, about Taisho 2, even smaller *nosatsu* were in vogue, which, however, were intended for actual pasting more than for exchange. Probably the smallest of *nosatsu* were the *kanzashi-fuda*, "hair-pin fuda," which are said to have measured 3 *bu* by 1 *sun*; they were presented to *geisha* girls to thrust through with their hair-pins and wear upon the head.

At one time *bodai-nosatsu* were considerably used; they were memorials of the dead, and were given by the mourners to their friends to paste up in temples; the custom is now obsolete. Another special kind of *nosatsu* were *ore-fuda*, "thanks fuda," which were printed and distributed in sign of gratitude.

Nosatsu are usually printed in Chinese characters, and as we have already stated, great pains is taken to make them beautiful and to select those of favorable augury; it is very uncommon for the characters of the Japanese syllabary to be used. Foreign letters are naturally rare upon them. Occasionally one or two Sanskrit characters may stand at the upper end of the *nosatsu* of some pious Buddhist. Rarely, Roman letters are found. Yamanaka has written a brief article in which he calls attention to old *nosatsu*, printed during the period of Dutch influence, which bear Roman letters. He figures one *nosatsu* which was in the collection of Gintanitome in the year Bunsei 8 and must therefore have been at least so old; at the top are the letters *god*, below which in Chinese characters, occurs the name Metada (or Umechuhai); it is uncertain just what was intended by these letters—whether it was the name of deity, or the adjective good, or something else. An old *nosatsu* still exists

which bears three names badly spelled in Roman script ; these occur one below the other and after each is a period ; as written they read : Skebn. Jositaca. Tosimits. ; these are probably misspellings for the Japanese names Tsukebun, Tojitaka, and Toshimitsu ; it is probable that some one of these three gentlemen had learned the Roman alphabet and wrote out a *nosatsu* for their common use ; a photograph of this piece was exhibited by the Educational Department of the Japanese Government at the Anglo-Japanese Exposition in London in 1910, as an example of early outside influence upon the Japanese. Another old *nosatsu* bearing Roman letters is certainly not later than early Bunkwa ; in the upper part are very curious Japanese characters probably meaning "worship" and "success" ; below is the strange inscription in Chinese characters, "adjia-jin," which means "Asia-man" or "Asiatic" ; below, in Roman capitals is the word "VERKRYGEN."

Occasionally to-day one finds Roman letters on *nosatsu*. Common and rather inexplicable is a capital T which occurs in various connections, but the meaning of which I do not know. One of the present members of the *Nosatsu Kai* a few years since had a *nosatsu* printed upon which were no characters excepting the Roman letters SETSU. The famous Omafu's name occurs upon one *nosatsu*, but whether this dates back to him or is a tribute of some modern admirer of his greatness is uncertain.

It is exceedingly rare that foreigners attend *nosatsu* meetings. I have reason to believe that there were one or two in the past who pasted *nosatsu* bearing their names, but have not seen actual examples. My own *nosatsu* is always made in Chinese character and does not immediately betray its foreign origin ; I have attended many meetings and always of course prepare a special *fuda* for exchange at each. There has been some effort to revive the *ren* system in recent years, and in Taisho 3 and 4 a *komori-ren*, with a bat for its design, was represented at many meetings ; at one of the meetings of the *komori-ren*, Mrs. Kincaid

was present, although I do not understand that she had a *nosatsu* printed for that occasion; later on, however, the *komori-ren* printed a large "group *nosatsu*," on which the names of all who were present at the meeting in question appear; Mrs. Kincaid's name appears among them, although it is written in the *kana* and not in Chinese characters.

A striking feature of the *Nosatsu Kai* is its democratic spirit. On few other occasions in Japan do all meet on such terms of equality. Few of social position attend the meetings, and many from the lower walks of life; but there are and always have been some superior men in attendance. At the first meeting I attended, impressed by the diversity, we made an enumeration of those present. The entire list is not at hand, but among those present were a renting-agent, sign-maker, letter-writer, *tokoroten*-seller, brush-maker, *soy*-seller, painter, lantern-maker, copyist, poet, *sushi*-seller, fireman, carpenter, maker of thongs for *geta*, artist, editor, green-grocer, charcoal-seller. Where else in Tokyo than in the *Nosatsu Kai* could such an aggregation come together on terms of absolute equality?

In connection with the *nosatsu* activities, a special nomenclature has been developed and new words have been coined or old ones turned to new uses. Thus, *miyoto-bake* means the double brush for pasting; *tota-bukuro* is the box for brush, paste, paper *fuda*, wooden *fuda*, hammer and nails; *moguri* are men who do not attend meetings but who scribble up their names or paste *nosatsu* independently—regular devotees tear down or cover up their *nosatsu*; *harikake* is pasting over the placards of *moguri*; *kai-fuda* are *nosatsu* meant for exchange; *kairyo-hake* is a new-style pasting brush, while *nori-hake* is the ordinary pasting brush; *noritsubo* is the paste-pot; *obisashi* is a pouch in which to carry *nosatsu*; *nagehari* means to paste up *nosatsu* by throwing—this is a very curious old practice, antedating the use of the long pole or extensible rod. (There were two methods. At first, a round cloth was used, upon which the *nosatsu* was

placed face downward, the back having been smeared with paste; it was then thrown flat to the place where it was desired to paste the *fuda*. Later, a towel was used, folded so as to form a pad of some weight, which carried the *nosatsu* with greater force and certainty.)

The above is legitimate nomenclature; the words given are special and technical, but are proper terms. There has, however, also been developed a special *fucho*, slang, or secret vocabulary. This arose in Bunsei. There is still in existence an interesting printed paper prepared by Tacho, with these terms and the symbols which were equivalent to them and which were chalked up or marked in the neighborhood of temples and shrines for advice or warning to the craft. These are very curious and are as follows: *Nihombashi* meant the extensible pole—anyone knowing the famous bridge will readily appreciate the figure, which shows how easily one crosses a broad intervening space by means of it; *Ryogoku* means the long pole, and all who know Tokio will understand; *Nakabashi*, means to paste by hand—the distance to be crossed is small; *Kobo-sama* means to scribble or scrawl one's name in place of pasting a real *nosatsu*—it is rather hard on the great calligrapher to use his name with such a meaning; a temple where nothing has yet been pasted is called *hakoiri musume* (a spotless virgin); the word *samisen* means the best possible place for pasting; to call a temple *bozu* means that there is a head-priest there, who may or may not be favourable to pasters; *kakoi-mono* (concubine kept in seclusion) indicates that it is somewhat difficult to paste *nosatsu*; *yasu ghakoi* (cheaply-kept concubine) means try anyway, do not be afraid; *geisha* means though you spread the paste, do not leave the *nosatsu*; the word *shuto*, (mother-in-law) indicates absolute prohibition, nothing to be done; *otemba* (a mad-cap girl, tom-boy) indicates doubtful, but perhaps unpasted; *korwa-iro* (falsetto voice) better apologize to the priest; *tsurete-nigero* (to fly away together) means smearing only. As is customary in slang and

argot everywhere, there is a good deal of wit and shrewdness underneath these secret terms.

At all times there have been temples and shrines where priests have forbidden the pasting of *nosatsu*. In the days of great popularity there is no doubt that *nosatsu* were a nuisance and that gateways, shrines, door-posts, *niō*, and even figures of deities themselves were disfigured with plastered *fuda*. At many temples of high class to-day placards are plainly exposed forbidding pasting. Nor is it only ecclesiastical authorities who have prohibited the practice. Repeatedly the Shogunal government passed edicts not only against pasting *nosatsu* in public places, but even against the holding of meetings of the society. The reason of such prohibitions was frequently economic; it was claimed that people neglected business and spent money beyond ability in connection with the organization. I have a copy of a prohibition dated Kwansei 11.7 (1799). It reads as follows: "Prohibition of the *Senja Mairi* (1,000 shrines worship). Many have recently organized a society called *Senja Mairi* for worshipping at various temples and shrines; they assemble at tea-houses and call themselves a definite membership. They appoint secretaries, collect moneys, and consider it an honor to present *ō-fuda* to many shrines. We herewith announce that people must not form such organizations. Preserve this official announcement and see to it that the people observe its order."

"11.20. This announcement was proclaimed at the house of Naraya Ichiemon (member of the city committee).: Let him transmit it to the street committees."

Not only were there prohibitions, legal and ecclesiastical, with reference to *nosatsu*—there were even martyrs to the cause. Thus, in the period of Tempō, a certain person named Gen, caught pasting *fuda* at Shiba Temple, was arrested and transported to a distant island. As an example of persistency in wrong doing, we may mention Nataman of Ryogoku, who tried seven times to paste a *nosatsu* at famous Miyajima without

success; however, in his eighth attempt, Meiji 13, he succeeded.

Naturally, the relation between art and *nosatsu* has been very close. Some of the *ukioye* artists designed and used *nosatsu*. Among the names of *nosatsu* artists may be mentioned Torin, in Bunkwa and Bunsei; at the same time Gyokuke produced a series of the fifty-three stations of the Tokaido. In Tempo, Kesai Esen and Hokusen were prominent. The latter is also known by the names of Gakerojin and Manjisai; he was a student of the famous Hokusai and in style much like his master. Most of the *nosatsu* artists in the period of Ansei were of the Uta-kawa school. The famous Toyokuni III would have nought to do with *nosatsu*, but his student, Baichoro Kunisada, after the death of his master, made some. Kuniyoshi made many, among them series of the forty-seven *ronin*, etc. Mr. Saito (Senno Hiromaro) has written an interesting article upon the subject of *nosatsu* artists. From him we quote the following list for reference:

Torin	Yoshiyuki
Gyokuke	Yoshitora
Hokusen	Yoshiharu
Esen	Yoshikage
Hiroshige	Yoshitatsu
„ II	Yoshitomi
„ III	Tsuyatoyo (Ichibatoyo)
Gengyo (Takisa)	Tsuyanaga
Fukushin (Kosugisai)	Tsuyamasa
Kuniyoshi	Kunisada
Yoshitsuya	Kunichika
Yoshitsuna	Kuniteru
Yoshiiku	Kunimine
Yoshikane (Takenouchi Baigetsu = Tacho = Manjisai Tacho)	
Yoshifuji	Utatsuna
Yoshimori	Zeshin
Yoshitoshi	Kyosai

Yoshikazu	Aiyaoka
Yoshimune	Koga

Not only did these men make fame as artists of *nosatsu*, there were men notable as cutters of the blocks and even as printers from the engraved blocks. In the same article by Saito the names of the more famous cutters and printers are given. They were as follows :—

Cutters.

Horitake of Yokokawa	Horitoku
Horimasa of Matsumacho	Horitomi
Horiyasu of Asakusa	Sashichi
Horitatsu	Kanakichi
Horitsune	Horicho of Katada.

Printers.

Furakusai of Nakabashi	Kinkosai of Komagata
Egin of Hotabara	Honsada.

In Meiji 30, several members of the *Nosatsu Kai* determined to erect a permanent monument of stone commemorating their society's activities. The undertaking attracted the attention of the well-known newspaper, the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, which gave publicity to the matter and aroused a considerable amount of interest; the monument was erected in the sixth month of that year, at the Chomeiji, Mukojima, Tokio. It was the first of a number of such monuments, a dozen of which perhaps are now in existence at different places. These monuments are located at the following places :—

Boshu :	Nako-Kanzeon.
Settsu :	Nakayama-dera Kanzeon.
Bushu :	Nippara Mountain, Shonyudo.
„	Sasanoto, Chosenji.
„	Tokyo, Asakusa, Morishita Fudo-in.
„	„ „ Komagata, Bato Kwannon
„	„ „ Dairokuten Jinja Kayacho

- Bushu : Tabata, Yorakuji.
 „ Tokyo, Mukojima, Chomeiji.
 „ Nishi-arai Daishi Sama.
 Soshu : Kamakura, Hase-dera.
 „ Oyama, Afuri-jinja.

A curious and rather interesting literature concerning *nosatsu* is in existence. The following bibliography is probably almost complete, although some minor articles and notes in magazines are not mentioned :

LITERATURE.

Books :

- (a) *Misaka no Usugure*. Katei Gasui. Near twilight of the end of the Year.
- (b) *Dai Nippon Daimei Kudoku enzetsu*. "Setzuō." (Den Sadakata). Kwansei 2. (1790.) Discourse upon virtue of *daimei* of Great Japan.
- (c) *Jinja Bukaku Nosatsu Kigen*. Dictated by Fuen Gengyo (Baiso old man); compiled by Donte Robun. Ansei 5 (1858). Shrines and Temples *nosatsu* origin.
- (d) *Nosatsu Taikwan*. Ota Setcho and others. Meiji 44 (1911). Complete Study of *Nosatsu*.
- (e) *Nosatsu Daimeshi*. Hara and others. Taisho 2. Collection of *name-nosatsu*. (The *nosatsu* of the members who were present at the meeting of Meiji 33. 6.20 at Nakamura-ro).
- (f) *Yokohama Kaikodzuze*. Taisho 2.10.6. Pictures commentary on the opening of the Port of Yokohama.

Magazine Articles :

- (a) *Bidzutsu Shimpō*. Taisho 3.3.1. *Sensha fuda*. 3 articles by Takenouchi Kiuchi, Onishi Asajiro, Tsuzuki Kokaku.

- (b) *Fuzoku Kaiga Zasshi*. Taisho 3.3.1. *Jinrei Nosatsu Shi*. Remarks on pilgrimage *nosatsu*.
- (c) *Koko Gaku Zasshi*. Taisho 3.3.5. *Senja Mairi Nosatsu ni tsuite*. Thousand-shrines-worship *nosatsu*, by Yamanaka-cho.
- (d) *Shu Ko Kai Shi*. Meiji 43. (3). Notice of foreign visitor and reproduction of *nosatsu*.
- (e) Meiji 44. (5). *Horanda Moji no Senja Fuda*. Dutch letters in *senja fuda*, by Yamanaka Kioko.
- (f) Taisho 2. (5). *Tenko no Senja Fuda ni tsuite*. Remarks upon Tenko's *senja fuda*, by Yamanaka Kioko.
- (g) *Ukiyo*. Taisho 4.7.5. *Senja Fuda to Ukiyo*. *Senja fuda* and color-prints, by Senno Hiromaro.

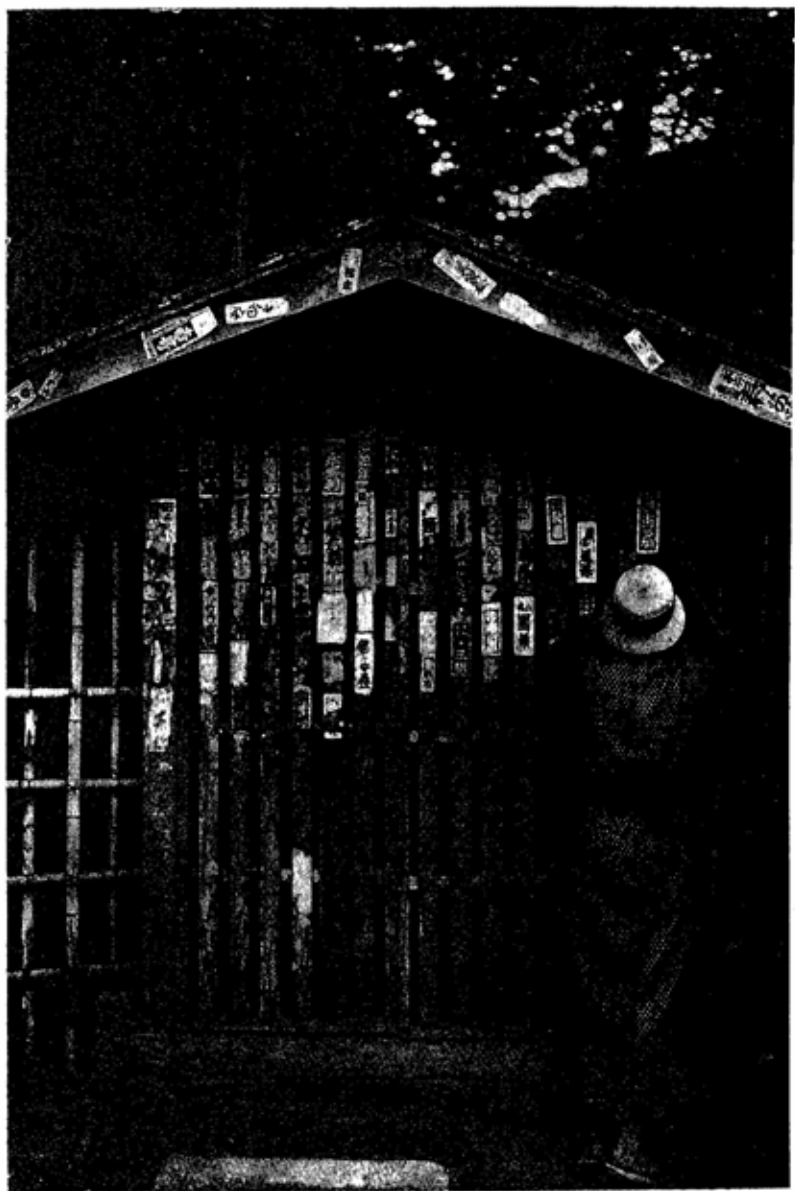
I find among Japanese of high station a ready tolerance of my interest in the *Nosatsu Kai*. All who *know*, appreciate it as the survival of a genuine old Yedo institution. In fundamental ideas, in conservatism, in conduct of meetings, in its art, —it is purely "Yedo taste." And, after all, even with the newest and most up-to-date Japan, "Yedo taste" is reputable. As for myself, the *Nosatsu Kai* stands for much to me. Its quaint combination of piety and sociability, its symbolism, its art, are charming; it continues in full practice, in living custom, the fine old color-printing and the principles of the *ukioye*; it is not revival, or reproduction; it is the original, unchanged, persisting. The *Nosatsu Kai* has taught me more of Old Yedo life and thought than all else combined.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

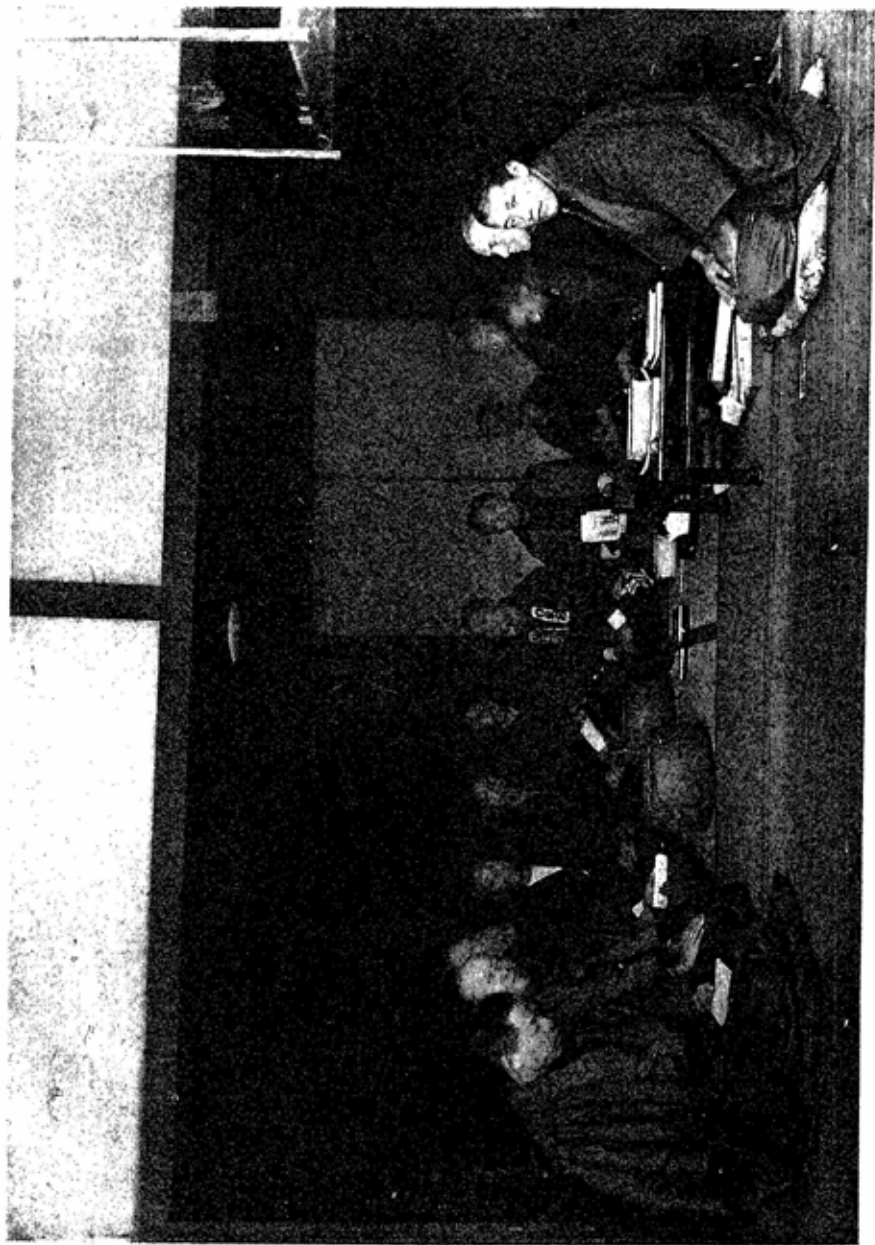
Meiwa	...	...	...	...	...	1764-1772
An-ei	...	...	...	...	...	1772-1781
Temmei	...	...	...	...	...	1781-1789
Kwansei	...	...	...	...	...	1789-1801

Kyōwa	...	...	...	...	...	1801-1804
Bunkwa	...	...	...	...	...	1804-1818
Bunsei	...	...	...	...	...	1818-1830
Tempō	...	...	...	...	...	1830-1844
Kōkwa	...	...	...	...	...	1844-1848
Ka-ei	...	...	...	...	...	1848-1854
Ansei	...	...	...	...	...	1854-1860
Man-en	...	...	...	...	...	1860-1861
Bunkyū	...	...	...	...	...	1861-1864 •
Genji	...	...	...	...	...	1864-1865
Kei-ō	...	...	...	...	...	1865-1868
Meiji	...	...	...	...	...	1868-1912
Taishō	...	...	...	...	...	1912 —





1. Pasting nosatsu: small shrine near Meguro.



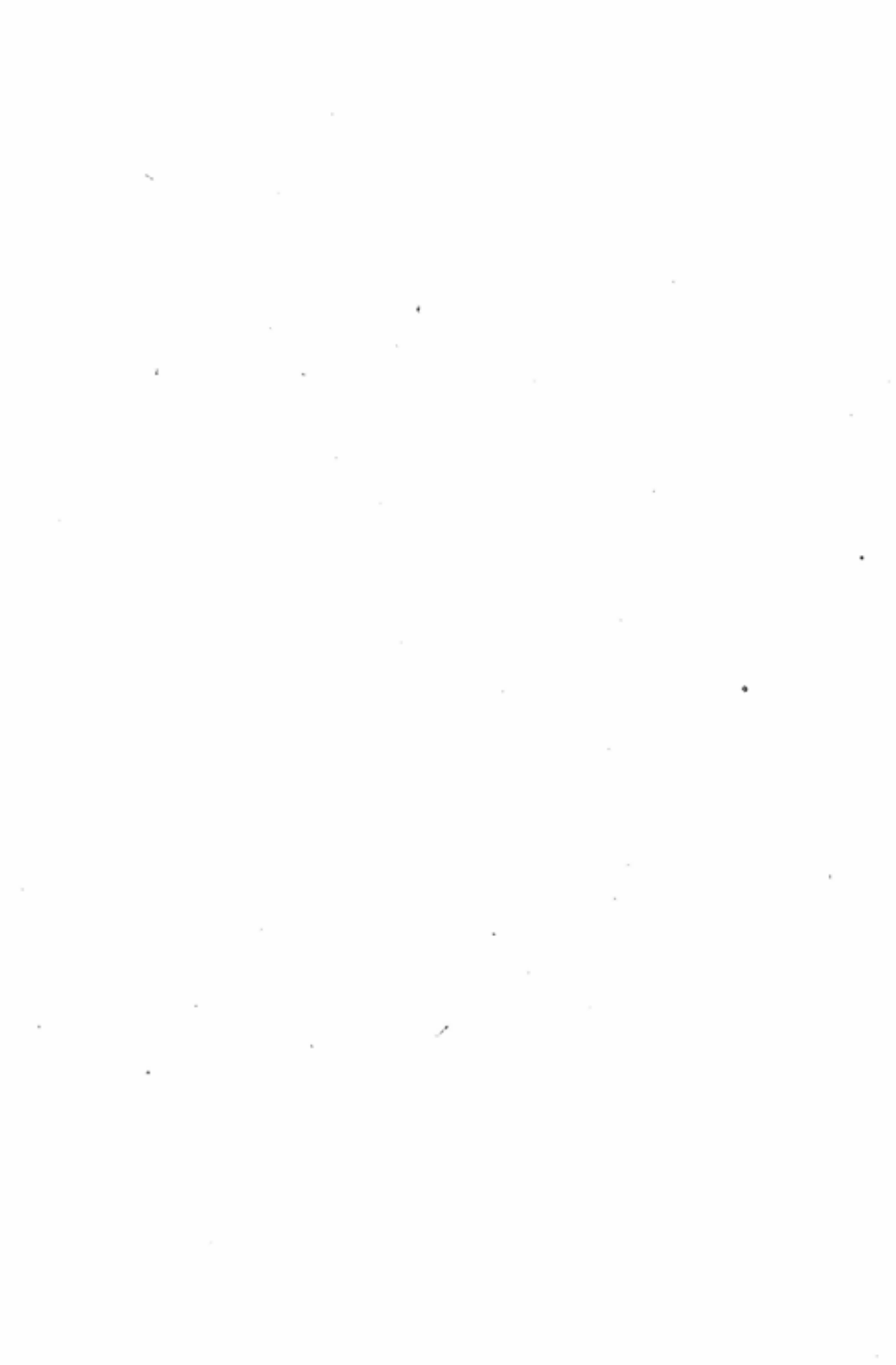
3. A small special meeting of Nosatsu-kai.



4. Old copper nosatsu, preserved at Ishiyama; the inscription reads Goshu Ishiyama-dera, Nagahama. Saikoku sanjiusando junfuda. Tembun jugonen. Shinkyo Ito hosuku.
Tembun 15 is 1546. The nosatsu is about 12 inches high.



5: Pasting nosatsu of Ota Setcho and Frederick Starr. The latter is regular unit size.

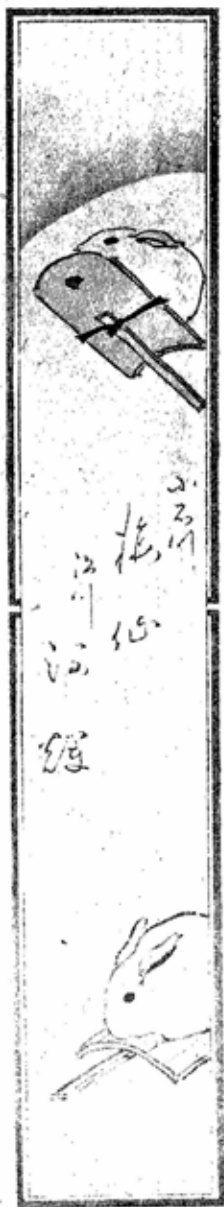
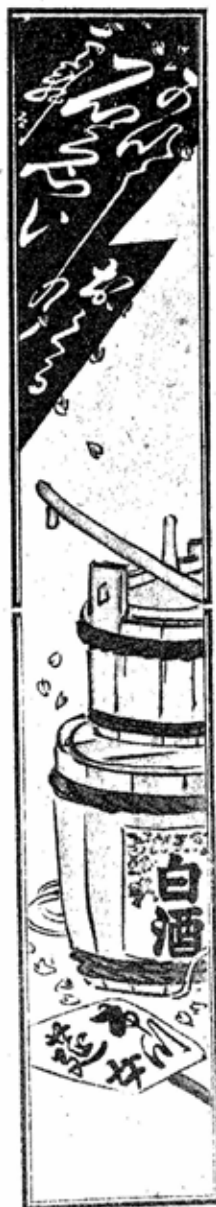




7. Invitation to Nosatsu-kai meeting. Nosatsu-kai; by election of the members I have the honor to invite you to the meeting at Kamenoseki, Nihombashiku, Honmachi. Meiji 44. 11. 20.
 | Arrangements by Horikin. 4-unit size.



8. 2-unit nosatsu; used at meeting of the first month, year of the rat, Taisho I; showing selection of seasonable designs—battledore, rat, Daikoku, &c.



9. 2-unit size, vertical.





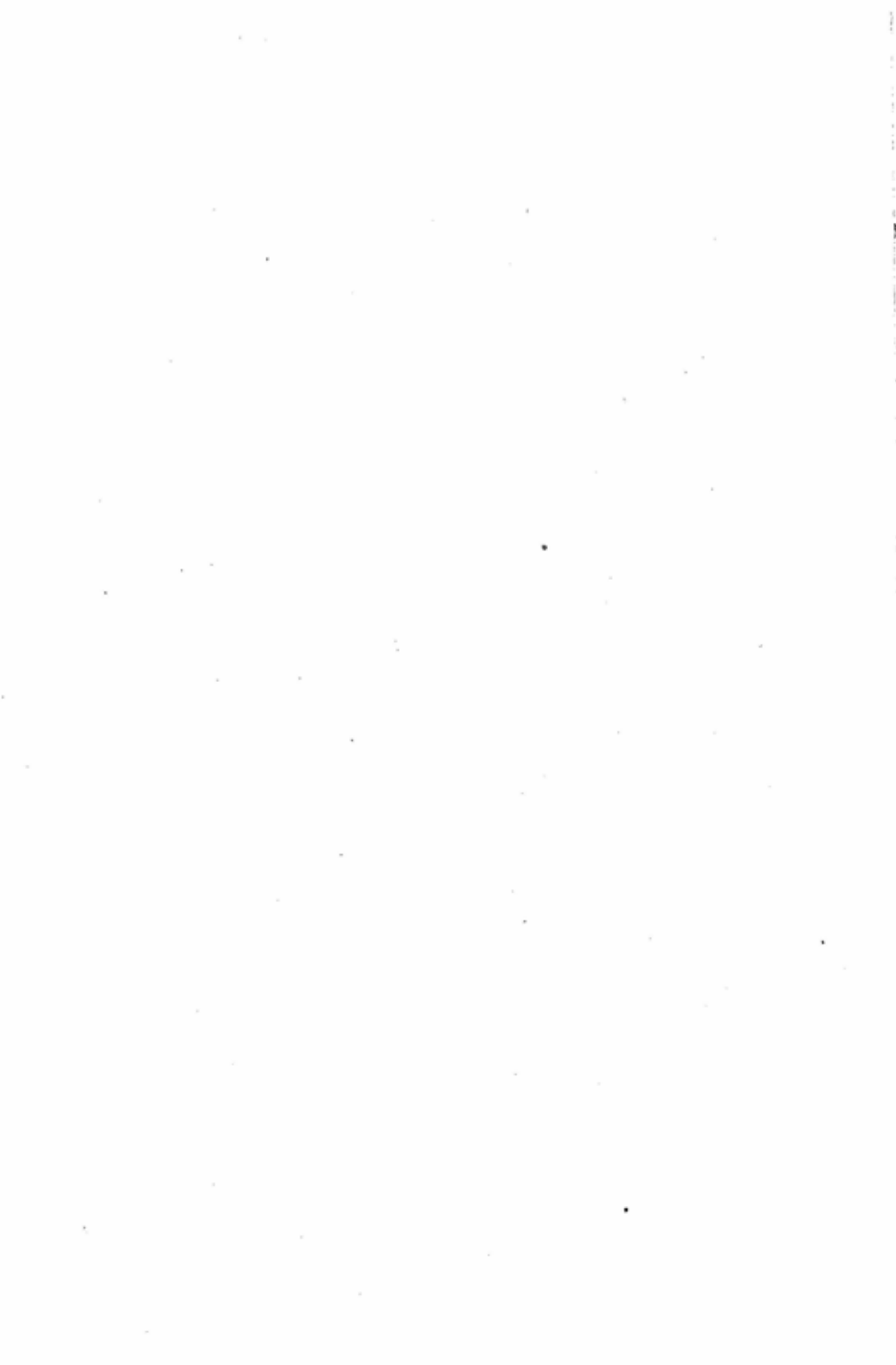
11. 4-unit ren-nosatsu of old date; design is by Ichikessai Yoshiiku, who designed many nosatsu.

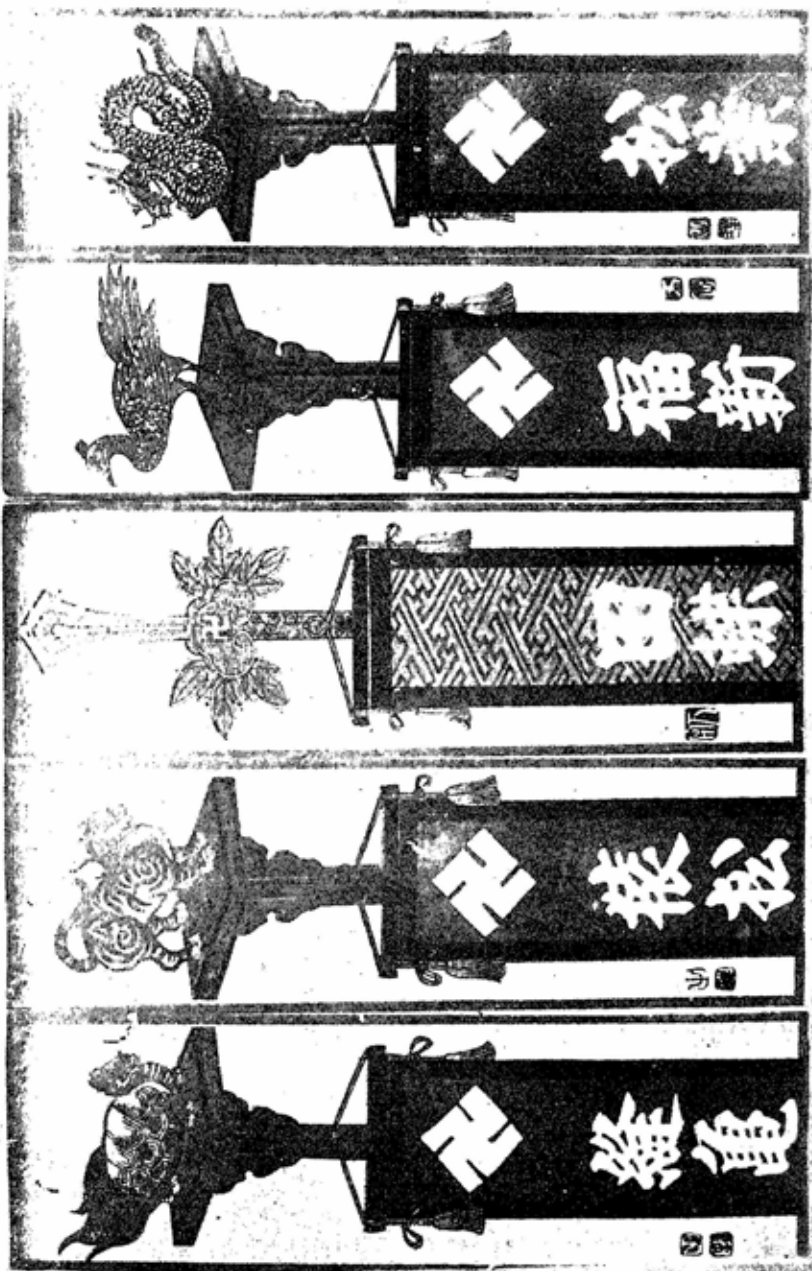


12. Two unit-size nosatsu and one 2-unit size; designs by Ichieisai Yoshitaya, who designed many nosatsu in Ansei.

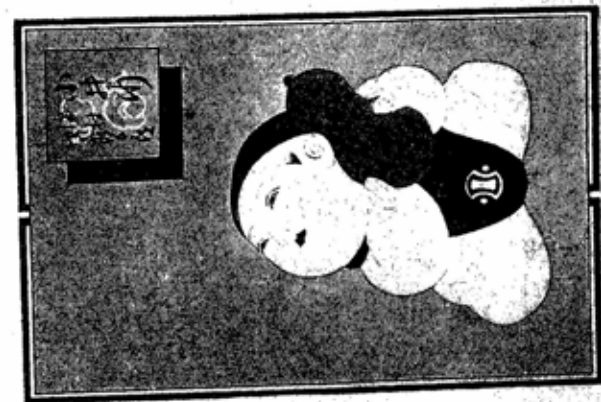


13. 4-unit size vertical nosatsu, designed by the famous Tacho.



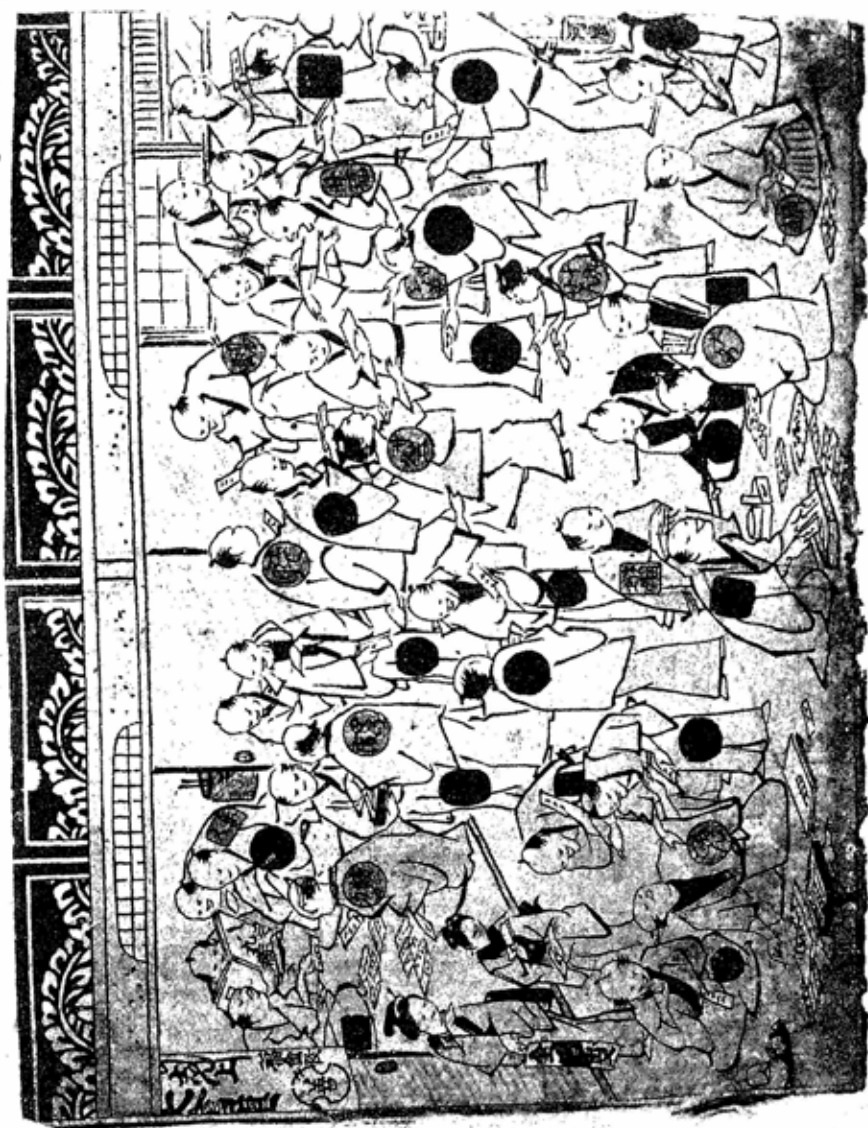


14- Exceedingly prized set of five unit-size nosatsu, designed by Tacho for the meeting that commemorated the accession of the Emperor Komei to power. (1847).



15. Three of a series of twenty-two 2-unit nosatsu, representing "palace dolls," prepared for the meeting that commemorated the accession of the present Emperor to power, November 1915.





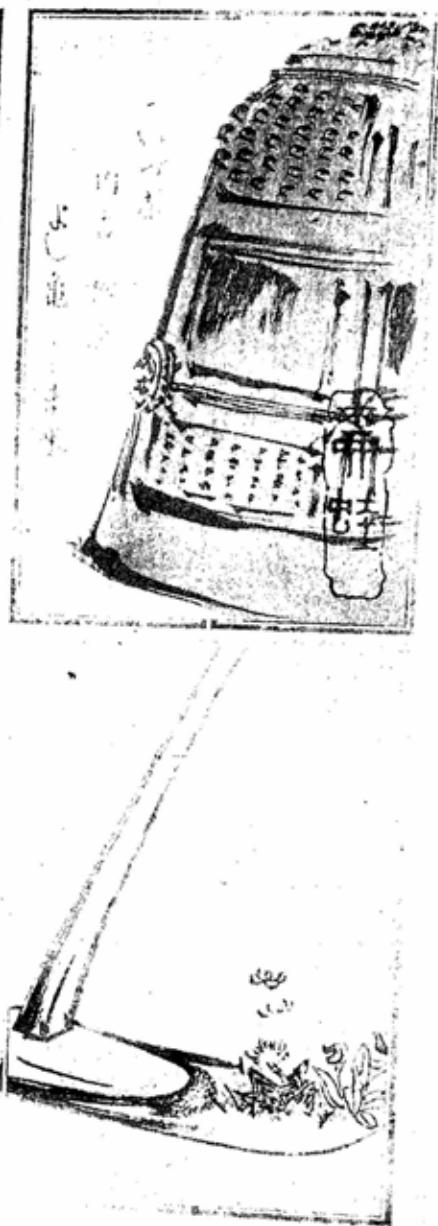
16. One-half of an 8-unit horizontal nosaisu, representing a nosaisu meeting during Ansei; design by the famous artist Hiroshige.



17. One nishikiye of a triptych by Hiroshige II; all three are composed of nosatsu designs.



18. A curious nosatsu designed by Tacho and undoubtedly intended to imitate foreign letters; it probably reads—Utatomi Tacho.



19. Memorial meetings nosatsu; one of 4-units size, the others 2-units size. Two of them were prepared for a meeting in memory of Miki Tadashi; the third in memory of the "Son of Den Tacho."



20. Nosatsu dzuka; nosatsu monument; (written by Magye Sanken).
At Chomeiji, Mukojima, Tokio, with the pasted nosatsu of Daigin.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The Hogen Monogatari, or Story of the Hogen Era, is the first of the so-called historical novels that were written in Japan, and has been the model on which many of the succeeding novels of this class have been moulded. It does not pretend to give the exact history of the events of the time, but sets down in a popular fashion what one set of men thinks of those events, and the reasons for the sequence in which they occurred. Mr. Sekine Masanao, in his preface to the edition of the book which I have used in this translation, says that though there has been much discussion of the question of authorship, it is still undecided; the author is still unknown. The exact date at which the book was written is also unknown, though there is internal evidence to show it must have been published at some time after the "Kamakura Period." The Hogen Monogatari, like its companion books the Heiji Monogatari and the Heike Monogatari, has evidently passed through the hands of several men, each man adding his part and amending the work of the men before him, but the styles of writing in the Hogen and Heiji novels are so much alike that Mr. Sekine comes to the conclusion that they were written by the same men. Judging from the authors' ecclesiastical language and their evident knowledge of Buddhism, they seem to have been either actual priests or at least educated in a religious way. The purpose of the book, according to Mr. Sekine, is to show the beauty of kindness and justice, the good faith of the Samurai, and the virtue and chastity of the women.

It is true that, in a general way, the purpose of the Hogen Monogatari is to preach the doctrine of kindness and justice to all men, but there also seems to be a more particular object expressed. In the chapter which I have numbered XII, three men are mentioned as having been forced by Sutoku-in's edict to take his side in the "rebellion." May not the book have been written by descendants of one or all of these men in order to show that though their ancestors were in the wrong, they

Monin, a daughter of the Fujiwara family, whose given name was Toko-ko, gave birth to a son. The Emperor Toba was particularly pleased at this event and shortly afterwards appointed the child Crown Prince. On January 15th, 1142, the prince succeeded to the throne, being then three years old. The previous Emperor, Sutoku, was therefore called "Shin-In," "The newly retired one who has become a priest." This Emperor had been basely forced to retire although he had done nothing wrong. It is said that there never had been good feeling between father and son, the Ex-Emperor Toba and the newly retired Sutoku-In. He gave up his throne with the greatest reluctance, and may have had, even then, the intention either of again ascending it himself or of giving it to his first son Shigehito Shinno. But it is difficult to weigh his thoughts. Toba no In shaved his head (i.e. became a priest) on the 8th of April 1141. He was thirty-nine years old, still in the prime of life, and had no illness. He was fortunate in being able to enter "The Way of Requiting Kindness" with a whole heart, because privately he could remember his former good deeds and publicly he was already firmly connected with the Buddhist church.

However, in the Summer of the second year of Kyuju (1155), Bifuku Monin's son, the Emperor Konoye, became ill, and toward the end of the month, as there was little hope of his recovery, he was removed to the "Room of the Eaves" in the Seiryoden, a building in the palace. On this account he himself may have thought his case a hopeless one, for he composed the following poem:

Mushi no ne no
Owaru nomi kawa
Suguru aki wo
Oshimu waga mi zo
Mazu kienubeki.

(Not only do the cries of the insects become weak, regretful of the passing autumn, but I too am sad at its passing and shall fade away before their voices do.)

He finally died on the 13th of August, at the age of seventeen. Thus passed Konoe no In at a pitiable age. The grief of the Ho-o, the retired Emperor Toba, and of his concubine Bifuku Monin was almost beyond reason, but the newly cloistered Emperor Sutoku thought this a good opportunity to carry out his designs, and though he himself could not re-ascend it, expected certainly to put his son Shigehito Shinno on the throne. This was also what all the people of the country expected, but by an unlooked-for intrigue of Bifuku Monin, Go-Shirakawa, who at that time was called Shi-no-Miya, and whom few had considered as a candidate, was made Emperor. People of both high and low degree were taken by surprise. The mother of this Shi-no-Miya, the late Taiken Monin, was also the mother of the newly cloistered Sutoku-no-In. They were neither of them sons of the Ex-Empress Bifuku Monin, and for this reason the Ex-Empress, being besides too jealous of Shigehito to allow him to become Emperor, took the part of this other prince and secretly urged him on the Ho-o, Toba. She had got the idea firmly fixed in her head that the reason Konoe-no-In had died at such an early age was that Sutoku-no-In had laid a curse upon him. There is no doubt that Sutoku-no-In's hatred for her was greatly increased on this account.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE HO-O'S VISIT TO KUMANO, AND THE ORACLE OF THE GOD.

In the Winter of the second year of Kyuju, the Ho-o made a religious visit to the three shrines of Kumano. During his prayers in front of the building called Shojoden, at the principal shrine, and while he was in a state between dreaming and waking, what appeared to be the hand of a small boy was thrust out from the Hall-of-Worship and turned over and back several times. The Ho-o was greatly surprised, and calling the leader of the pilgrimage and his companions to him, said to them :

"A mystical omen has appeared, I think it might be well to ask for the presence of the God, to explain it. Is there a true *miko* here?"

(*Miko* were, and are, not only dancers of the *kagura*, the dance before the Gods, but also diviners of the God's wishes.)

So they brought out a *miko* who was incomparably the best among all the shrines of Kumano. The Ho-o said to her:

"Something unaccountable has happened. Perform your divination." But though she tried from early morning until the Hour of the Bull, she could not "bring the God down," or become possessed with his spirit, and so, old and experienced Yamabushi to the number of eighty recited the scripture *Hannya Myoden* and for a long time made supplication. The *miko* also threw herself on the ground in a transport of frenzy, and all the people stared at her as if the spirit of the God had already descended upon her, but it was only after she had performed many miraculous acts that she faced the Ho-o, stretching out her hand and turning it over and back, over and back, and said:

"What is it you wish to know?"

Thinking it was truly a communication from the God, the Ho-o slipped himself off his cushion, and joining his hands in the attitude of prayer, said:

"This is what I have to say. What must now be done?"

The *miko* answered:

"In the Autumn of next year you will surely die. Thereafter the world will be turned upside down, just as I am turning over my hand."

Because this was the utterance of a divinity, first the Ho-o and then all his attendants asked with streaming tears:

"Is there no way of prolonging my life?"

The *miko* answered:

"Your fate is sealed and I have no power to change it."

Then the God left her and re-ascended. All the assembled people, noble and common, high and low, bowed their heads to the ground and prayed to the Gods. What sadness there must

have been in the Ho-o's heart! He had intended, on his accustomed pilgrimages, to pray for a long reign of power and to place upon his head, in token of his vows of repeated visits, the leaves of that sacred tree named "Nagi" at the shrine of Kirime no Oji which has been revered since the age of the Gods, but now he was reduced to the sad thought that this was the last time he would be able to offer the *nusa* to the three shrines. During the sacred dance when the sutra with Sanskrit words was sung, he repeated the prayer for rebirth in Heaven. "*Rinju shonen ojo gokuraku.*" Then, with an air of sadness, the Emperor and his attendants returned to the Palace.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE DEATH OF THE HO-O.

Thus the year came to an end. On the 18th of May of the next year, the era was changed. It was named "Hogen." At the beginning of this era the Ho-o was taken ill. Everybody said that this illness was brought on by his great grief at the death of Konoe-no-In, which had occurred in the previous Autumn, but the truth is that his illness was a punishment for his sins, either of this life or some former one. As day by day it became more serious, and as there seemed to be less and less hope as the months passed, on the 22nd of June Bifuku Monin shaved her head in Toba's Palace, the Jobodai-in, and thus prayed for his happiness in this and the next world. Konoe-no-In had already died, and now her husband the Ho-o, for whom during her long life with him she had deep marital affection, was dangerously ill. It is said that so great was her grief that she intended to become a nun and had appointed as her teacher the high priest Mitaki Kwanku. On all of these accounts she is much to be pitied. As for the Ho-o, he devoted himself, without praying for recovery or without medical attendance, to the study of "The Way of Enlightenment."

Toba, the first of the "Cloistered Emperors," finally died on

the 22nd of July. His age was fifty-four. His not having reached the age of sixty made his death a deplorable one. Accustomed as people are to the vicissitudes of life, and knowing the rule that all living things must die, they need not have been taken aback by his death, but, as if the sky had been darkened and they had lost the light of sun and moon, everybody mourned his loss even more than if they had lost their parents. When Shaka Nyorai foretold under the "Sarasoju," (the "Four Pairs of Teak Trees"), his temporary death, men and Gods lamented together. At his entrance into Nirvana on the 15th day of the second month, fifty-two kinds of sorrow were shown by men, beasts, birds, insects (or reptiles) and fish. At the Emperor's death, the whole Palace was full of grief and even the senseless plants and trees seemed to show their sorrow. How much more must those people have felt it who had been serving near him for so many years! Judge then how foolish it would be to try to describe the grief of Bifuku Monin. (She was down-cast in the extreme, but these thoughts came to her): "All await what must occur. Between the noble and the common, the high and the low, there is no distinction. Death must come to the descendants of Emperors as well as to the sons of farmers. The all enlightened Buddha had pointed out the reason for cause and effect, and Shari Hotsu, his wisest disciple, has shown that a man's life is determined in a previous world. Therefore death is nothing at which ordinary people should be surprised; and yet, this year's grief had been added to last year's sorrow and she knew not what to do."

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE NEWLY CLOISTERED EMPEROR'S INTENTION TO REVOLT.

While the whole country was still under this affliction, people began to say among themselves that the intentions of the lately retired Emperor were getting more than questionable,

and for this reason the palaces of both Sutoku and the reigning Emperor became turbulent and excited. It was said that a man of the military class attached to the person of Sutoku-no-In, in Higashi Sanjo ward, had climbed either to the top of a hill or on to the limb of a tree and had spied upon the "Takamatsuden," as Go-Shirakawa's palace was called. The grounds of this palace reached from Anegakoji to Nishi-no-Toin. So, on the last day of July, 1157, Shimozuke no Kami Yoshitomo, under the Emperor's orders, arrested an assistant keeper of a storehouse named Fujiwara Mitsusada and two other military men while they happened to be away from Sutoku's palace, and examined them closely. It appeared from what they said that during Toba's illness not only had there been for some time rumors of a coming rebellion, but soldiers had been collected from all sides, East and West, military provisions had been brought into Sutoku's palace both by pack-horses and carts, and many other suspicious acts had been committed. These three men said that Sutoku's idea had always been that in ancient times the succession to the throne had not always descended in a direct line from eldest son to eldest son, but that the man most capable of being Emperor had been sought and inquiries had also been required into the standing of his mother's family; that the throne had been given to Konoe-no-In simply because of the affection felt by his father Toba for a son born to him by his real wife, and Sutoku constantly regretted the fact of his accession, but when the former Emperor died, he thought Shigehito should have been made Emperor. Shigehito however, much to Sutoku's surprise, had been passed over for Shi-no-Miya, and Sutoku was deeply disappointed and exasperated. His only way of deciding on what should be done was to consult with his attendants, and this explained the gathering of the soldiers.

Yorinaga, known as Uji no Sadaijin, was the second son of the Ex-Regent Chosokuin Zenko Denka Tadasane. Among all the sons of the Nyudo Tadasane, Yorinaga was the one he

loved best. Besides having a splendid personal character, Yorinaga had an excellent knowledge of Japanese and Chinese, was expert in court etiquette, not unlearned in the chronicles of his own and foreign countries, was well known for his literary ability, was well versed in all polite accomplishments, held an important position at Court, and had a capacity for governing the people. On the other hand his elder brother, the priest Hosshoji Dono (Fujiwara Tadamitsu), though skillful at poetical composition and writing a beautiful hand, decried these accomplishments. He said that poetry was merely a form of amusement to be used during intervals of rest, not a thing important for a governing official, and as for hand-writing, it was only a kind of diversion. He was not at all sure that a wise man would take pleasure in these pastimes. Yorinaga studied all the Chinese classics, taking Shinzei (Fujiwara Michinori) as his guide to the intricacies. He was constantly shut up in his study practicing the five cardinal virtues of humanity, righteousness, politeness, wisdom, and faith. He distinguished between deeds which required punishment and those which should be rewarded. He had a thorough knowledge of government affairs and could tell at sight the difference between a good man and a bad one whether of high or low degree. On this account his contemporaries called him "The Crafty Sadaijin" and men of all ranks feared him, but in reality his disposition was very good indeed. For instance, if he had cause for discharging one of his lower servants and the man gave him his reasons for acting as he had, the Sadaijin would listen attentively, and if the man had committed no crime, would take pity on him and keep him in his employ. To take a particular instance; on one occasion while transacting public business in the Consulting Room of the Palace, he reprov'd a certain secretary for making a mistake, but the secretary was able to explain away his mistake. The Sadaijin, considering that he himself had erred, withdrew his reproof and was even good enough to send the secretary a letter of apology. The secretary out of respect, refused to accept

the letter, but the Sadaijin said, "My letter of apology was well considered and you ought to accept it. It will add to the honor of his family if a subordinate receives a letter of apology from his superior." So the secretary obeyed him and accepted the letter. This occurrence shows that the Sadaijin had a clear perception of good and evil and did not confuse the one with the other. Everybody respected him, and his father, the Ex-Regent Tadasane, fully expected he would become a great man.

On the 8th of October, 1150, Yorinaga became Head of his family (Uji no Choja) and on January 20th, 1151, he was appointed, by Imperial Command, Inspector of Documents to be submitted to the Emperor (Kurando). This was the first time that the Regent had been set aside and this office created for the purpose of conducting the government directly through the three Ministers, the Dajo-Daijin, the Sadaijin, and the Udaijin, and some people were disposed to question the advisability of the step, but by the clever management of Yorinaga's father they were compelled to say nothing. They consoled themselves by thinking that he had practically been a Minister even before this, and that anyhow he would probably govern the country better than his brother had done. So the other officers allowed the matter to pass in silence.

But the Hosshoji, Fujiwara Tadamitsu, was now Regent in name alone and took no more part in public affairs than if he had been out of office. He was extremely angry at Yorinaga's appointment. He said again and again that he himself had received his title only very recently, but that it depended entirely on the Emperor whether he should resign the Regency and retire to a simple life without the advantages of position, and let Yorinaga, with all his other titles of Sadaijin, Kurando, and Uji no Choja, be made Regent. In other words, he threatened to resign his office and go over to the side of the Emperor's enemies. Everybody admired the Regent because hitherto he had acted with so much selfrestraint. The Regent

and the Sadaijin had felt respect for each other both as brothers and on account of an agreement which they had made together that the Regent should become the adopted son of the Sadaijin, but hereafter, it was said, there was bad feeling between them.

Now it was the Sadaijin's opinion that, the old Emperor being dead, Sutoku intended to put Shigehito Shinno on the throne and then govern the country as he pleased. He therefore made frequent calls and visits at Sutoku's mansion, and as Sutoku thought the Sadaijin a man on whom he could depend, their talks together were very intimate. One night, Sutoku said to the Sadaijin :

"We ought to consider present affairs in the light of the past. Tenchi was Crown Prince under the Emperor Jomei and became Emperor himself in spite of the fact that his father had many other sons. Ninmyo was the second son of the Emperor Saga, but the eldest son Junna was passed over and Ninmyo ascended the throne. Kwazan reigned before Ichijo, and Sanjo preceeded Go-Shujaku. I myself have no particular virtues and it is probably by the merit of not having committed in a former life any of the ten great sins that I was born Crown prince to my father. The country as a whole was rather opposed to my elevation to the throne, but still I received that high honor. Shigehito is one of those princes who have a right to succeed to the title of the Emperor Toba, being in the direct line of descent, but the throne has been handed over to Shi-no-Miya though he has not the least knowledge of literary or military art, and thus both a father and a son have been plunged into the depths of affliction. While the late Emperor was living, I passed the Springs and Autumns of two long years without being able to accomplish anything, but now that he is dead, why should I be afraid to usurp the rule of the country? This would certainly be in accordance with the will of the Gods and would not be contrary to the people's wishes."

On his coming out so openly, the Sadaijin, delighted to think that if this Emperor regained his throne he himself would

undoubtedly obtain the Regency, encouraged him in his ideas and answered that he was absolutely correct in what he intended to do. Now although Sutoku, with this scheme in mind, proposed to put Shigehito forward as a candidate without letting the general public know anything about it for a certainty, yet all the inhabitants of the Capital, rich and poor, high and low, began to carry away their property and belongings in every direction and conceal them outside of the city. And when Sutoku shut the gates of his palace and began to gather in his military supplies, the people became excited and talked among themselves. "What is going to happen? If Sutoku no In starts his project of seizing the country only ten days after the death of the late Emperor, who can guess what punishment his ancestors the Gods will visit upon him? An Emperor should be above such base ideas. For a long time now the nobles have been at peace in the Court, and within the boundaries of the whole empire there have been no troubles of any kind. Now, on the contrary, we are to be thrown into uproar and confusion."

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE DIVISION OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY INTO GROUPS.

The Court learned of these matters on the fifth day of the month. Those officials of the military class whose turn it was to attend the Emperor on that day were Yoshitomo, Lord of Shimozuke, Yoshiyasu, the new Military Governor of Mutsu, and Motomori, Suezane, Koreshige, Sanetoshi, and Suketsune, all Military Governors of various provinces. There was also present a large number of soldiers who had followed the Governors up from the provinces to the Takamatsu Palace. These soldiers were brought into the southern courtyard, and the Shonagon Nyudo Fujiwara Shinzei was ordered to speak to them as follows:

"Since the second day of the month, when the Retired Emperor died, so many samurai have made ready munitions and brought them into the Capital that the roads can not be used for anything else. This being an act of violence, all those who are armed with bows and arrows must be arrested and brought here."

All the soldiers in the courtyard knelt and listened respectfully. Yoshitomo and Yoshiyasu were commanded to remain in the Palace and guard the Emperor, and the other officers were all ordered to their various guard-stations about the city. The Prime Minister and Dainagon of the Imperial Palace, Prince Koremichi, together with many noblemen of the Emperor's Court (*kuge*), formed a deliberative assembly and declared that all those who were in rebellion against the Emperor should be exiled. (This had been for many years the highest degree of punishment according to the laws of the Emperors, though the death penalty was inflicted by the laws of the Clans.) Haruno-Miya Daiyu Prince Munenori was ordered to be present at this assembly, but having caught a cold, was unable to attend.

The next day, the Military-Governors all went to their respective stations. Motomori, on going to his station on the road to Uji, wore the hawking-coat which at that time had become a sort of Court uniform. His was blue and white. The cords of his armour were of a light leek-color, or light blue. He wore a silver-studded helmet above his folded *eboshi*, his arrows were feathered with spotted hawk's feathers, and he carried a bow whose bindings of rattan were bound on in pairs. He rode a black horse with a black-lacquered saddle. With a company of about a hundred horse, he had started South on the road to Yamato, when, at the first bridge of the temple Hossho-ji, he met ten armored horsemen and about twenty foot-soldiers with their officers, on their way to the Capital. Motomori asked them from what province they came. They answered that they lived in the neighboring province, that they had heard of a disturbance in the Capital, and were going there to

learn the details. Motomori then addressed them formally, and said that the Emperor had heard that after the death of Toba all the samurai from the neighboring provinces were coming up to the Capital, and had therefore put the barriers under guard ; that if they were going to take sides with his Majesty Go-Shirakawa, they must come under his, Motomori's, leadership ; that if they did not wish to obey him, he would not allow them to pass. He announced himself as Aki no Hangwan Motomori, seventeen years of age, the second son of Aki no Kami Kiyomori who was the grandson of Kyobukyo Tadamori the thirteenth lineal descendant of the Emperor Kwammu.

A man who seemed to be their leader stood forth. He was wearing a long, light, silk coat of the kind then worn exclusively by noblemen, and the cords which laced his armor together were of dark blue and white which had been dyed yellow. His arrows had black feathers, and he carried a bow whose close bindings of rattan had been lacquered with black. He rode a saddle-horse of the color of yellow earthenware.

" I " he said " am but an ignorant sort of person, but I am not without what might be called a family line. My name is Unohichiro Minamoto no Chikaharu. I am the son of Shimozuke Gon no Kami Chikahiro the grandson of Nakatsukasa no Jo Yoriharu who was a descendant of the fourth generation in a branch line from Yamato no Kami Yoriyika, the younger brother of Settsu no Kami Yorimitsu, who was the seventh descendant of Rokuson-o, the tenth in descent from Seiwa Tenno. I have been living for a long time in Oku Gori in Yamato Province, but have not yet lost a reputation for military art. I am on my way to visit Sutoku-In in obedience to the commands of the Sadaijin. As men of Minamoto clan never serve two masters, even though you are the Emperor's messenger, I shall not take sides with the Court."

So saying, he tried to pass, but Motomori surrounded them with his hundred horsemen and started to shoot them down. Chikaharu was not in the least confused, but drew his bow and

shot arrow after arrow. Some of the Heike horsemen were quickly killed, and taking advantage of this, the ten horsemen drew themselves into line and charged upon Motomori. The Heike men, thinking it impossible to withstand them, retreated to the northern end of the Hossho temple.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE CAPTURE OF CHIKAHARU AND OTHERS.

As soon as it was heard in the Palace that Motomori had had an encounter with a band of rebels, soldiers came running to where he was, to offer their services. Motomori stood on a high place in order to see them all, and said to them:

"There are no more enemies than those you see, O you men of Ise and Ige, and we are so many; they must be captured alive and shown to the Emperor."

Men from Ito and Saito ran up to the enemy from right and left, and upon each horseman there fell from five to eight of Motomori's men. Chikaharu, tho' considered a brave man, was so powerless that he could not even kill himself, and was taken alive. This affair showed to those on the side of the Emperor that they had a determined enemy and that they could not conduct matters in a weak or vacillating manner.

Sixteen of the enemy's principal men having been captured, Motomori broke the arrows which had pierced his left sleeve and leaving them hanging in the armor, went back to the Palace with many of his wounded soldiers and he himself covered with blood, and reported what had happened. Then he started back on the road to Uji. Chikaharu, after having been exhibited in the northern camp, was thrown into the Western Jail. The Emperor was so much pleased that he raised Motomori's official position, appointing him to the rank of Sho-geshii (Second Class of Senior Fourth Rank). He also gave him a "certificate of merit" in which it was written that Unohichiro Chikaharu had been captured and shown to the Emperor together with sixteen of his subordinate rebels.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING THE DETECTION OF SUTOKU'S REBELLION,
AND HIS CURSE.

In the mean time, on the 8th of the same month, the Regent, Omiya Dainagon Prince Korenichi, and Haru-no-Miya-Daiyu Prince Muneyoshi held a meeting of the deliberative assembly and condemned the Sadaijin to be banished on the eleventh, giving as a reason that he had been already detected in rebellion. The explanation of this is as follows. They had heard that the Sadaijin had confined a priest in the Western Palace for the purpose of making him perform secret incantations for the bringing down of a calamity on the Imperial Palace. Orders were given to Shimozuke no Kami to bring the priest before the Emperor, and he went to the Western Palace to find the priest. But the gates and doors were shut tight, and even when he knocked they were not opened. So he went to the southernmost small gate on the western face of the palace and entered by breaking it in. He passed before the Tsunofuri and Hayabusa shrines, and found the priest praying before a temporary shrine erected in front of the Chimaki well. The priest's name was Shōson. He was an instructor in Buddhism from the province of Sagami, and an inmate of Mii-dera. Shimozuke no Kami told him that he was the Emperor's messenger, but the priest made no reply. Two soldiers thereupon caught hold of his arms and brought him to his feet, but he still kept his arms close to his sides and would not stretch them out to be manacled. He was as strong as a wrestler. Under the circumstances, Shimozuke thought it better to let him continue his prayers, but no sooner had he started to give the order than several other soldiers came up, and catching hold of the priest, forced him down and bound him.

They brought back with them from the shrine the principal statue of the Buddha, together with some letters to the priest from the Sadaijin. The Inspector of Documents Jibu-Daiyu

Masayori and Ichiro Hangwan Tashinari, on receiving orders to do so, examined the priest about the matter, but he said that the letters were of no special importance and that he was simply praying for peace between the Regent and the Sadaijin. However, it was evident from the Sadaijin's letters that there were special matters between him and the priest. One of the letters was as follows :

An answer from Yorinaga.

To Myo-o-in, the Sagami Instructor.

I understand from your letter that you are using the *nademono*. (Note : Brinkley's Dictionary defines "*nademono*" as "Originally a garment, but latterly a paper cut in the shape of a human figure, used in the Shinto rite of purification (*misogi*)," and goes on to describe the method of use. But in this case the word is used for a paper figure used in sympathetic magic for the purpose of bringing down a curse upon the person represented by the figure.) I believe that all the Gods of Heaven and Earth will help you in its use. The *nademono* is in accord with the twenty-eight Star-Gods. These invisible Gods are strict in regard to rewards and punishments, but your magic is so admirable that to them it will seem incomparably effective. It is said that the priest Keiryō put Seiwa Tenno on the throne by his severe austerities, and that the wisdom of the priest Son-i struck the mark like a brandished sword on the neck of a criminal. The invisible and visible Gods protect Emperors beyond the power of human beings to protect them. How, therefore, can we fail to succeed if we pray with a true heart and with depth of feeling? If, by following this method and by taking the advice of Imperial officials, we conquer our hated enemy, we shall certainly not be acting disrespectfully to the Gods. Quickly dispel our melancholy by the effects of your magic ; then will your temple advance in prosperity by the effulgence of the Gods. Of this there is no doubt whatever.

Seventh Month, Second Day.

Yours respectfully,

NORINAGA.

This letter showed that Sutoku had really started his rebellion. Besides this, the Emperor had heard that the Sadaijin had named Heimanosuke Tadamasa and Tadano Kurando Yorinori the son of the late Sado no Zenji Yukikuni as generals during the coming war. The Emperor therefore commanded the Jibu-Daiyu Masayori to bring these two men before him, but when the Daiyushi Morotsune found Tadamasa and Yorinori and ordered them to come, they answered that they could not do so because they were in attendance on their own lord, Norinaga.

As this was the seventh day since the death of the late Emperor Toba, orders were given to the Daiyushi Morotsune to hold a Buddhist mass in the Tanaka Palace outside the city. Sutoku, although he was in the palace at the time, did not attend the ceremony, and on this account every one's suspicions were still further aroused. Then Sutoku proposed to go back to the Capital, but the Governor of the left section of the city, Prince Norinaga, reproved him, saying :

"If you go to the Capital within the forty-nine days of mourning after the death of the Emperor, people will distrust you ; and besides, you ought to have respect for the fact that the Emperor's spirit has not yet left this Palace."

But Sutoku did not seem to listen to him, and Prince Norinaga could say nothing more. However, he went to Tokudai-ji to see the Naidaijin Saneyoshi, and told him of the plans Sutoku had in view. The Naidaijin, greatly surprised, said :

"I was secretly informed that the Sadaijin had been urging him on, but I did not believe it was true. What a pitifully useless scheme it is ! An ordinary man would hardly think that the prosperity of an Emperor's son could depreciate to such an extent, for he is under the direction of Tensho Daijin (the Sun Goddess) and Sho-Hachiman-Gu (the God of War). Our country is in the eastern part of the world and its islands are scattered like fallen chestnuts, but it is the country of the Gods, and among the seven thousand of them, there are thirty in

particular that guard the Palace every day of the month. Every Emperor in former times has considered his younger brothers and nephews lower in rank than he, but this is not the first time that they have tried to rise above their position and take command of the country. Sutoku ought to leave his fate in the hands of the Gods, but if that is not enough for him, he might at most withdraw and live in seclusion. But above all, the forty-nine days of mourning for the dead Emperor are not yet passed, and if he leaves the Palace now, his plans will not succeed. I am sure he will regret it. You must watch his face to find him in the proper mood, and tell him what I have said."

When Prince Norinaga returned to the Palace and repeated to Sutoku what he had heard, Sutoku said it was all true, but that the female officer Heiyei-no-Sa, Shigehito Shinno's mother, had told him in detail of some accident that would happen to him if he stayed where he was; that he was going to the Capital, not with any special intention, but simply to avoid this "accident." As he was bold enough to disagree with Norinaga, there was no use in repeating the advice.

On the tenth day of the seventh month, Sutoku sent word to the Sadaijin, who was in Uji, to bring before him the three men, the chief secretary Morotsune, Taira no Tadamasada, and Minamoto no Noriyori. The Sadaijin answered that he would bring them immediately, but very late on the night of the eleventh, Sutoku left the Tanaka Palace and went to the palace of Saki no Sai-in, in Shirakawa. (Saki no Sai-in was an unmarried daughter of Sutoku's and had been serving as priestess in the Shinto Shrine Kamo Jinja.) To the public this move of Sutoku's was announced as the return of the Sai-in to her own palace. Those who went with him were Sakyo Daiyu Prince Norinaga (in spite of his attempts to hold Sutoku back), Sama Gon no Kami Sanekiyo, Yamashiro no Zenji Yorisuke, Saimon Daiyu Taira no Iyehiro, and Iyehiro's son Mitsuhiro.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING THE SUMMONING OF TAMEYOSHI BY SUTOKU,
AND CONCERNING "UNOMARU."

There was a man living at this time named Tameyoshi, usually called the Rokujo Hangwan because his house was in the Rokujo ward. He was the fourth son of Hachiman Taro Yoshiie, who was the grandson of Iyo no Nyudo Yoriyoshi who was a descendant, in the sixth generation, of Rokuson-o the sixth son of Seiwa Tenno. He had been summoned to the Imperial Palace, but for some unknown reason had not attended. Neither had he obeyed the commands of the retired Emperor Sutoku. The Emperor Go-Shirakawa called for his attendance with such insistence that he finally said he would go, though so far he had not done so. Then Prince Norinaga went to see him at his house in Horikawa, Rokujo Ward, and gave him a message from Sutoku; whereupon he suddenly changed his mind, and said:

"I, Tameyoshi, being a descendant of Yoshiie, am naturally a guardian of the Imperial Line, but while it is true that the Ex-Emperor may depend upon me, I have had no personal experience in warfare and shall probably not be of much use to him. Still, when I was fourteen years old, my uncle, Mino no Zenji Yoshitsuna, rose in rebellion and entrenched himself on Mount Koga, in Omi Province, and when I went against him under the Emperor's commands, all his children killed themselves and all his followers ran away. Yoshitsuna himself had become a priest, but nevertheless I brought him bound before the Emperor. Again, when I was eighteen, a large number of priests in Nara became violently opposed to the Emperor, and as we heard that they were coming up to the Capital to fight, although it was a sudden affair and I had only seventeen horsemen with me, still, on receiving the Emperor's orders to oppose them, I hurried to Kurosu Mountain and drove back their

innumerable hosts. After that, whenever any trouble arose, I did not go myself, but always sent some young fellow or other to quiet the matter. But in spite of all that I have done for the Emperor, the name of Tameyoshi has never become a noted one, and on this account, and also because I am out of practice in warfare and in my seventh decade, it is impossible for me to do anything more for the Emperor. It is for this reason too that, though he has often summoned me, I have pretended to be ill and have not attended at Court. Now on the other hand, there are many things to make a Commander-in-Chief, which Sutoku wants me to be, anxious at the present time. Take this for instance. I had a wish, trifling it may be, but one which I had entertained for a long time, and for some time past I have been going to pray at the shrine of Hachiman. Well, the God at last gave me his instructions in a dream. I saw the eight suits of armor which have been handed down in our family for many generations scattered in every direction by a whirlwind. This dream has made me very anxious, and I earnestly beg that some other man be made Commander-in-Chief."

Prince Norinaga answered :

"The words 'Like dreams, apparitions, foam, and shadows' are in a famous passage of the 'Diamond Sutra' of the 'Hanya Sutra,' and show that dreams are only trivial affairs. To believe in dreams and omens is too timorous a way of acting for a soldier like you. I can not go back to the Emperor with a report like that."

"If that is the case," said Tameyoshi "among my many sons there is one, named Yoshitomo, who was brought up among the famous fighting-men of the country East of the Usui Pass, the 'Bando.' Not only is he himself wise in military matters, but all the warriors in his train are the same as he. But he and they have already gone to Go Shirakawa's Palace, and I have no other son whom I think capable enough to be made Commander by Sutoku-In. Another son, Hachiro Tametomo, is an unusually strong fellow and an excellent archer,

but as I had no need for him, I sent him down when he was a child to the western part of the country. He has only lately come back. Please use him in the war. Give him what orders you like."

Norinaga said :

"Even if matters stand as you say, you ought to go to the Palace and report them. How can you stay here and send such an answer to the Emperor? Such things must not be!"

"You are right!" said Tameyoshi, and starting out at once with six of his sons, he went to Saki no Sai-in's palace in Shirakawa. Sutoku was overjoyed at his coming, and commanded Noto no Kami Iyenaga to tell him that he would give him the two great shrines of Iba in Omi and Aoyagi in Mino and promote him to be one of his own personal officers with the rank of a high officer of his body-guard. The Ex-Emperor also conferred upon him a sword called "Unomaru."

Now the reason the sword was called "Unomaru" was this; the Emperor Shirakawa no In once went on a pleasure excursion to the Shinzen Gardens, and while amusing himself by watching the tame cormorants catching fish, one of the birds which was said to be especially intelligent began to raise some object on the back of its head and drop it into the water again. It did this so often that the fishermen wondered what the object was. After the cormorant had done this four or five times, it picked the thing up in its bill and brought it to the fishermen, and on their examining it they found it was a sword in a scabbard which had a long metal border. They all thought the occurrence mysterious and the Emperor considered it supernatural. It seemed to him a sacred sword and a very rare treasure; so he named it "U-no-Maru" ("Beloved object obtained from a cormorant") and kept it with the greatest care. Toba-no-In had received it as a present from Shirakawa-In and bequeathed it to Sutoku, and now Sutoku gave it to Tameyoshi. It was a token of great honor to Tameyoshi.

As Tameyoshi thought this would be his last battle, he gave

to each of five of his sons one of his suits of ancestral armor and he himself wore the one called "Usugane." The young noble Tametomo was such a large man that ordinary armour would not fit him and so he could not wear his suit. As the suits called "Genda-ga-Ubuginu" and "Hizamaru" had always been handed on to the eldest son, Tameyoshi had his servant Hanazawa take them to Shimozuke no Kami. The plates of the suit named "Hizamaru" were fastened together with thongs made of the knees of a thousand bulls, and the spirit of a bull seemed to have remained in it, for such a spirit was always appearing and showing what seemed to be a dislike for the armor's owner. Whoever, therefore, cleaned the armor, had to purify his body and abstain from eating meat. For these reasons we may sympathize with the feelings of a father in having sent such rare treasure to a son who was now his enemy.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING THE SADAIJIN'S JOURNEY TO AND ARRIVAL AT THE CAPITAL.

Now the Sadaijin passed in his palanquin through a secret entrance and arrived in the Shirakawa Palace. His immediate attendants were Shikibu no Osuke Morinori, his younger brother the Kurando Daiyu Tsunenori, and the Sakino Takiguchi Hadano Sukeyasu. Under the pretence that he himself was travelling in a carriage, he had two of his lower officers, named Shigetsuna and Narinobu, ride in one to the Palace, starting from Uji. Thus they had to pass about midnight through Motomori's camp. Shigetsuna and Narinobu, on arriving at the Shirakawa Palace, descended from the carriage trembling with as great a fright as if they had been in the knapsack of some awful demon. Everybody said that the behavior of these two men did not at all resemble that of Kishin, the general of the Kan era, when he rode in the Emperor's carriage through the enemy's camp.

On the ninth of the month a letter had been sent from the Tanaka Palace to the Shirakawa Palace. The messenger was one of the Emperor's bodyguard named Chikahisa. He was the son of Chikakata, a palace musician. The letter was as follows :

Since the late Emperor is dead, particular attention should be paid to nothing but religious ceremonies. Everything else should be put aside. At the same time, measures should be taken to restore all sorts of ancient ceremonies which are not observed at present. If this were done, the government of the country would proceed in a quiet manner, instead of our having, as now, disturbances and disputes in all the streets of the capital. These occurrences show disrespect to the Emperor. He is in as great danger as a swallow would be in which had built its nest on a curtain. (A quotation from the Chinese.) A member of the governing class should treat the people with mercy as well as strictness, and our advice to you is to do so. When the world has become quiet and at peace, the Gods will protect you. The ninth day of the seventh month.

Yours respectfully.

The answer from the Shirakawa Palace was as follows :

We have received and read your letter. We have tried to discover what caused this state of affairs, and have come to the conclusion that it may have been started by flatterers and tale-bearers. As an aged man once said, 'While virtue is respected, the people will be easily governed ; when the government is corrupt, it will be overthrown.' Flatterers always destroy the prosperity of a country: We can not explain matters further in a letter.

The ninth day of the seventh month.

Yours respectfully.

It is said this answer was shown to the Sadaijin before it was sent.

(Then follows a long list of the names of those titled men who took sides with Sutoku. It counts his force at least a thousand horse.)

CHAPTER X.

CONCERNING THE CALLING TOGETHER OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY.

In the meantime, the General of Bodyguards Kiminori and the Prime Minister To Mitsuyori were sent from the Palace with a message to Bifuku Monin at Karasumaru in Hachijo to have the Secretary Korekata read and declare the commands of the late Emperor Toba. Toba seems to have known beforehand that this war would occur, for he had written down the names of those fighting-men who should be called to the Palace in case of need. It was this list which the Emperor now ordered read. The names were Yoshitomo, Yoshiyasu, Torimasa, Suezane, Korehige, Higenari, Sanetoshi, Suketsune, Mitsukane, and Mitsunobu. Aki no Kami Kiyomori had so many followers that he in particular ought to have been summoned, but the late Emperor, remembering the fact that Kiyomori's father, the Hangwan Tadamori, who was guardian of Shigehito Shinno, did not write Kiyomori's names in his list. However, Bifuku Monin, pretending that she was following the late Emperor's orders, contrived to have Kiyomori summoned to the Palace along with the rest, and he attended, followed by all his sons and relatives. All the District Officers, Bodyguards, and Hangwan of the whole province came to the Palace fully equipped. Among the noblemen of the Emperor's Court present, there were such men as the Kwampaku Denka Naidaijin Saneyoshi, the Saemon no Jo Motozane, the Gon-Chujo Fushimi Morinaka, etc. etc.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING THE GUARDING OF THE GATES OF SUTOKU'S PALACE, AND THE COUNCIL OF WAR.

Sutoku moved from the palace of the Sai-in to the "Northern Palace," and then the Sadaijin went there by carriage. The Northern Palace was so called because it was North of the

Shirakawa Palace. It was to the East of Kawara and on the border of Kasuga Province. Besides the southern gate, called the Oi-no-Mikado, there were two gates to the East and West. The Eastern Gate was given into the charge of Heimanosuke Tadamasa, and he, with his four sons and Tada no Kurando Daiyu Yorinori, defended it with about two hundred horsemen. Rokujo Hangwan Tameyoshi received charge of the Western Gate and defended it with his five sons. He had only one hundred horse. This force had been a very strong one, but most of it had followed Yoshitomo to the Imperial Palace. At this juncture Chinzei Hachiro Tametomo said :

"I shall not follow my father. Neither shall I be led by my elder brother. In order that my victory or defeat may be upon my own head, be pleased to let me go alone against any force that promises to be a strong one. Even though there be a thousand or ten thousand horsemen opposed to me, I shall clear one side of the city with my arrows."

He was therefore sent to defend the smaller gate facing the western river-bed. Saemon no Daiyu Iyehiro was given charge of the gate facing the northern part of Kasuga Province, and defended it with his sons. His force is said to have been one hundred and fifty horse. Tametomo was allowed to defend a specially important gate single handed because he was admitted to be the bravest man in the whole country.

This man surpassed other men in ability of every sort. He was absolutely fearless. He used a bow of very high power and strung his arrows with great rapidity, one after the other. His bow-arm was four inches longer than his horse-guiding arm, and he could thus draw that much longer an arrow than other men. (These warriors held their bridle-reins in their right hands instead of their left as we do.) From his early childhood no one could stand against him, for he was so regardless of consequences that he would not give way even to his elder brothers. On this account his father, thinking he might do some harm if kept in the Capital, disinherited him and sent him down toward

the western provinces. He lived in the province of Bungo and was reared in the family of Owari no Gon no Kami Iyetō, afterwards becoming the adopted son of Saburo Tadakuni, who was the son of Higo no Kuni Akai Heishiro Tadakage. Then he took the title of Chief Superintendent of the Island of Kyushu without having received any permission from the Emperor, and the way of it was this. He had started out to conquer the whole island, and when the Daimyos of Kikuchi and Harada and others made ready their castles for defence and shut themselves up in them, he wanted to capture the castles. But not having enough troops of his own, he put himself under the leadership of his adopted father Tadakuni and made use of his followers. Thus, between the third month of his thirteenth year and the tenth month of the fifteenth, he had waged more than twenty important battles and had captured several tens of castles. Excelling other men, as he did, in strategy and the art of striking heavy blows at his enemies, within the space of three years he had overrun the whole of Kyushu. It was then that he called himself Chief Superintendent of Police.

On account of this and many other unwarrantable acts of his, the Shinto priests belonging to Kashii no Miya went up to the Capital and complained to the Government. On the 12th of November, 1155, the Tokudaiji Chunagon, Prince Kinyoshi, was appointed a special judge, and he ordered his secretary to send the following message to Tametomo :

You, Minamoto no Tametomo, have lived a long time in Dazaifu in disobedience to the Emperor's laws and edicts. We are constantly hearing reports of your cruelty and great violence. Instantly cease such actions and come up to the capital. This is the Emperor's message.

As Tametomo however still stayed away from the Capital, his father Tameyoshi was degraded in rank and put in his old position of Police Commissioner. Tametomo, on hearing of this, thought it dishonorable that punishment for his own misdeed should be visited upon his father. Under these circumstances,

what punishment would he himself receive? He therefore hurried up to the Capital. The people in the country round about him all proposed to go with him, but as the coming of so many men would not be considered by the Court a peaceful act, he took with him only his ordinary personal guard. The men who followed him were his foster brother Sudokuro Iyesue nicknamed Yasakibarai (Herald before the arrows), Iyesue's elder brother Akuhichi Betto nicknamed Sukimakazoe (Counter of openings), Yotsugi nicknamed Tedorì (Hand-taker), Yosaburo with the same nickname. Kiheiji Daiyu nicknamed Sancho-tsubute (Long-distance Stone-thrower), Shinzaburo nicknamed Oya (Great Arrow), Genta nicknamed Koshiya (Passing Arrow), Maturajiro Sachuji, Yoshida Heiei, Kihachi nicknamed Utte (Striking Hand), Takama Saburò, and twenty-eight other horsemen. After he had lived in the Capital a year, his father remitted his disinheritance and ordered him to accompany him into the great enterprise of war.

Tametomo was a man seven feet in height. His eyes were long and narrow, not round. His dark blue coat under his armor was embroidered in various colors with "*shishi no maru*." (Lions inside of circles?). His suit of armor was a copy of that ancestral suit of his father's called "Eight Dragons," and was made with wide openings of Chinese designs in white. It had on it the same lions in metal. His sword blade was three feet and a half in length and was carried in a scabbard whose back was covered with bear-skin. His bow was so powerful that it took five ordinary men to pull it, and had a peg on its side on which to rest the arrow. His quiver held thirty-six black-feathered arrows. When he walked forth with his servant carrying his helmet before him, his appearance was as brave as we may suppose Hankwai's, the famous Chinese warrior's to have been. In strategem he was not inferior to Choryo, and he could overcome fortresses that would have been difficult for even Goshi or Sonshi, or any other famous Chinese general. Even Yoiyu could not have shamed him in the use of the bow, and thus

there was not a bird flying in the sky or a beast running on the ground that did not have cause to fear him.

Sutoku no In and all his people had gathered together to see the far-famed Tametomo. The Sadaijin ordered Tametomo to declare his plan of battle, and he, bowing respectfully, answered ;

"I, Tametomo, have lived for a long time in the Western Provinces. I have fought countless battles and have brought the whole of Kyushu under my subjection. Among these battles were more than twenty of particular violence. Now in any case, either when, surrounded by the enemy, one tries to break up their strongly entrenched camps, or when one is attempting to overthrow his enemy by besieging his castle, incomparably the best method of procedure is an attack at night. If, therefore, we march at once against the Takamatsu Palace and set it afire on three sides while blockading the other side, those who try to escape the fire can not evade our arrows and those fear our arrows can not escape the fire. There are probably no brave men in the Emperor's party except my brother Yoshitomo, and if he comes forward for single combat with me, I shall shoot him in the throat. How much more insignificant are the weak arrows of such a man as Kiyomori ! I would turn them off with the sleeves of my armor or kick them aside with my feet. If His Majesty the Emperor should attempt to move to another place, I shall be presumptuous enough to shoot his attendants and then I am sure the palanquin bearers will throw the poles from their shoulders and run away. Then I shall respectfully bring him to this Palace, and after that, to make him our own Lord will be as easy as turning over one's hand. There is no doubt that the capture of the Emperor and the winning of victory might be accomplished before to-morrow's dawn simply by my shooting two or three arrows."

He spoke so boastfully that the Sadaijin answered :

"What Tametomo proposes is far too crude a way of acting. It is probably because he is young that he speaks in

this fashion. His night attack with only ten or twenty horsemen is simply his own plan. Nothing could be more abject than that we should use such methods when it took such immense numbers of both the Genji and Heike clans to conquer the country during the reigns of this and the previous Emperor. Besides this, many soldiers belonging to the Southern Capital (i.e. Nara) have been summoned to the Capital. Two priests of the Kofuku-ji temple, named Sashiya Sancho of Totsugawa and Toya Hatcho, are coming with a thousand horsemen. They will arrive at Uji to-night and meet Lord Fuke, Tadasane, there. To-morrow morning at dawn they will come here. Our best plan is to wait for these men and fight alongside of them. Let us also ask all the former Emperor's officers, noblemen, and palace-attendants to join us, and condemn to death those who do not come. By cutting the heads from two or three men we shall certainly induce the rest to join our ranks."

Tametomo had to yield to the opinion of higher authority, but he left the Sadaijin's presence grumbling to himself that such a line of procedure was not at all like the rules and precedents of former courts either in China or Japan; that the plan of battle ought to be left to the fighting-men, and that he was very doubtful of the outcome of such an unusual scheme. "My brother Yoshitomo" he thought "is so deeply learned in the strategy of warfare that he will certainly attack us this very night. If we postpone our attack till to-morrow, the priests from Yoshino and many men from Nara will join him. If they should advance now and set fire to the windward side of this palace, even if we fought our bravest, what effect could it have? And if they should press their victory home, what one man would escape? What a regrettable state of affairs!"

CHAPTER XII.

CONCERNING THE RUMBLING AND SHAKING OF THE SHOGUN'S
BURIAL MOUND AND THE APPEARANCE OF A COMET.

Now we three old officers of the late Emperor, Kinnori,

the Commander of the Bodyguard of the Left, Mitsuyori the Fujiwara Prime Minister, and Akitoki the Secretary of the Supreme Council, were living a retired life in the Toba Palace, when, on the eighth of the month, a comet appeared in the East and the burial mound of the Shogun began to rumble and shake. We consulted the books of divination in regard to these strange changes in the state of the heavens and earth, and the predictions given there made us all very fearful of what was about to happen.

After one or two thousand foot and horse had been gathered together in Sutoku-In's palace, the Sadaijin decided, in order to collect all the nobles and palace-attendants, to publish this notice :

"All those who do not come to the Shirakawa Palace will be punished with death."

This notice not only made it impossible for us to escape this misfortune, but even the Emperor Go-Shirakawa himself could not go where he pleased. For a man named Tametomo had threatened to burn the Capital, set fire to the Imperial Palace, and when the Emperor moved out, to shoot his palanquin-bearers. It was regrettable that such strange things should happen within ten days after Toba-In's death. In both the palace of the present and that of the previous Emperor, nothing should have been going on but prayers for the dead, but now we had to turn our attention to mundane affairs and ask ourselves what had come over the world. Had Tenshi Daijin's pledge to guard the Line of Emperors come to an end? However, Mitsuyori, after mature thought on the subject, said that as Japan was the country of the Gods, the river of Emperors would never cease its flow, and that already there had been seventy-seven generations of their line. Ever since the building of shrines to the Gods of Heaven and Earth was begun in the ancient days of Sujin Tenno, the sole object of prayers and supplications had been the everlasting continuation of the line of Emperors. The seven thousand Gods would never, day or

night, neglect their watchfulness. This was especially true because, in the time of Suiko Tenno, the Crown Prince Shōtoku Taishi had been born into the world and had killed the traitor Moriya, thus hastening the spread of Buddhism over the country. He also built the temple Shitenno-ji in which to pray for the prosperity of the Empire. Shomu Tenno built the temple Todai-ji, and making it the principal place of worship of Daijingu, prayed there for the imperial good-fortune. Gyogi Bosatsu began the erection of forty-nine temples in Ishikawa Gori, Kawachi Province, for the protection of his Emperor's reign; Dengyo Daishi founded the temples on Hiei-Zan for the glorification of the Ichijo sutra; and Kobo Daishi built the temples on Koya-San for conducting the secret rites of the Shingon sect, but the special object of all these temples was the preservation of the Empire. The two Emperors Shirakawa and Toba in particular had become disciples of the Buddha and had dedicated many provinces and counties to the Gods. They had given many rice and upland-fields to the Buddhist priests. For all these reasons the nation is under the protection of The Three Precious Things, Buddhism, Buddhist doctrine, and the Buddhist priesthood, and the glorious Gods will never let the Imperial Line come to an end. Moreover, after the Capital had been removed here from Nagaoka, during the reign of Kwammu Tenno, the ex-Emperor Heijo had attempted to create a revolution, but the Capital had suffered no harm, and since then, twenty-seven Emperors had come to the throne and we had passed the Springs and Autumns of three hundred and forty-eight years. During this time, in the reign of Shujaku Tenno, Masakado and Sumitomo raised a disturbance in the country, and in the reign of Go-Reizei, the two brothers Sadato and Muneto started a rebellion. They defended themselves for twelve years, first in the "Eight Year's War" in the eight provinces and then by holding the province of Mutsu, but no disorder reached the Capital, and they finally submitted to the Emperor. At the present time too, nobody will be able to destroy the Capital,

and no one will overthrow our Emperor. On the South, the great God Hachiman Daibosatsu takes his stand and guards the Capital from harm. On the North, Kamo Daimyojin and Temma Tenjin, and on the East and West the shrines of Inari, Gion, Matsuno-o, and Oharano guard the city with their glory and protect the Palace of the Emperor. If these rebels make any disturbance, the Gods will certainly come to our aid.

He spoke very hopefully.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCERNING THE EMPEROR'S REMOVAL TO THE SENJO PALACE AND THE DISPOSITION OF HIS TROOPS.

Now the Emperor was staying in the Takamatsu Palace, but as this place was too cramped to be convenient, he removed to the Sanjo Palace, without, however, giving previous notice of his intention. He was dressed in a long robe and rode in a palanquin, taking with him the Jewel and Sword of the Imperial Regalia. He was accompanied by most of his Ministers and many fighting-men. On his arrival, Yoshitomo was called before him. Yoshitomo wore a coat of red brocade and his stiff, black silk cap of state, whose top was usually worn folded down, was now straightened up. He carried his long-sword at his side armour. The Shonagon Nyudo was ordered to ask him in what way the war should be carried on. Yoshitomo answered respectfully :

"For conquering the enemy and obtaining a quick victory, there is no better way than to attack at night; especially as I have heard that a large number of priests, with men from Totsugawa in Yoshino and a thousand horsemen, will arrive at Uji to-night and to-morrow morning will advance against the Capital. Let us attack the enemy now before they become more powerful. Let us keep Kiyomori here to guard the Palace with his troops, and let me advance against the enemy and win a quick and decisive victory."

He spoke in an urgent way. The Shonagon Nyudo Shinzei, who was sitting in the room with the Emperor, carefully watched the expression on the face of the Prime Minister and said :

"What he says is right. My duty and that of my house is to write poetry and make music, and unskilled as we are in these matters, still less do we know of the art of war. You, Yoshitomo, should be the one to make the plans for this battle. It is a true saying that 'He who starts first conquers his enemy, he who starts last is overcome by his enemy.' To attack to-night is the right thing to do. However, Kiyomori ought not to be kept in the Palace. All fighting men should go together against the enemy. How can those who despise the Imperial Authority think that they are not defying the decrees of Heaven? If you calm the Emperor's anger by attacking and pursuing these traitors, you will undoubtedly, as I have always told you, be admitted to the Court."

Yoshitomo said :

"If I can only go out to the battle-field, what do I care for the rest of my life? I shall be admitted to the Court at the present moment and take my satisfaction in it in the next world."

So saying, he pushed the other men aside and went into the upper room where the nobles were sitting. Shinzei exclaimed "What are you doing?" and tried to stop him, but the Emperor, on seeing what was happening, entered into the spirit of the affair, and, they say, enjoyed it.

The Emperor's army attacked the rebels' palace at the hour of the Tiger (4 A.M.). At the same hour, troops coming from the eastern provinces met them and many of these deserted their own leaders and joined in with Yoshitomo. (Then follows a list of the titled men belonging respectively to the forces of Yoshitomo, Kiyomori, and Yorimasa, the three generals of the Imperial Army.) Altogether, there were more than seventeen hundred horsemen.

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING YOSHITOMO'S NIGHT ATTACK ON THE
SHIRAKAWA PALACE.

As nothing was known in the Shirakawa Palace of what was going on, the Sadaijin called the fighting-man Chikahisa from the soldiers' waiting-room and ordered him to go and have a look at the Imperial Palace. Chikahisa hurried there and came back, but before he had finished telling of the approach of the Emperor's army, the first of the soldiers had already arrived. Then Chinzei Hachiro Tametomo said :

"It has happened ! It has happened just as I told you so many thousand times !"

He was angry, but of what use was that ? It may have been in order to encourage him that he was now suddenly appointed to an official post and made a Kurando. When he heard of it, Hachiro said ;

"What sort of a proceeding is this ? The enemy has already come, and each man should be in his proper place. It is dangerous to make me an official at the present moment. Other men may become anything they please, but if I am named Kurando to-day, what good can I do in the battle ? No ! I shall simply keep my original name, Chinzei Hachiro !"

Meanwhile, Shimozuke no Kami Yoshitomo had started his attack facing the East in Nijo district. Aki no Kami Kiyomori followed in the same direction, but as that day, the eleventh, was the day on which the East was considered an unfavorable direction in divination, and he was afraid to shoot his arrows toward the rising sun, he went toward the Sanjo district, and hurrying across the river-bed, ascended the eastern bank and advanced to the North. Shimozuke no Kami waited at Higashi Gashira, West of the river, at a place in the river-bed called Oinomikado where he could easily manoeuvre his horsemen.

From Sutoku's palace, as the Emperor's troops had already raised their warcries and advanced to the attack, Tameyoshi and the men under him came running out of each of the gates which they were holding. Shirozaemon Yorikata and Hachiro Tame-tomo at Tameyoshi's side were contending with each other for the first place and seemed about to come to blows. Yorikata said that as he was the elder brother, Tame-tomo ought not to dispute with him for the front rank on such a day, but Tame-tomo answered :

"I must go first, not only because I am a better shot with the bow and a better swordsman than you, but because our father, the Hangwan, has appointed me leader in this battle."

But after considering the matter for a moment, he remembered that he had been disowned by his father for having been base enough to show disrespect to his elder brothers, and thinking it would be wrong to discuss a matter of precedence with an elder brother in their father's presence when his own disinheritance had just been remitted, he said :

"After all, anybody may go in advance. I'll take whatever place you think the most difficult, and defend it."

Shirozaemon on hearing this, said nothing in reproof, but started for the eastern river-bed. He wore a spotted, dark blue coat under his armor. This suit of armor, whose name was "Tsukikazu," was laced together with thin Chinese silk cords of the color of Autumn leaves. His quiver stood high above his shoulder, and held twenty-four arrows feathered with hawk's feathers, black with white tips. The bow which he carried at his side was wrapped with rattan. He rode a cream-colored horse, with a metal-covered saddle which shone like a mirror. Facing to the West, he took up the defense of the Oi Gate, and said :

"Are you Genji or Heike, you who attack this place? I am waiting to hear your names."

He then announced himself as Sakino Saemon no Jo Yorikata, the fourth son of Rokujo Hangwan Tameyoshi. A man answered from across the river :

"I am Takiguchi Toshitsuna, the son of Sudo Gyobu no Jo Toshimichi, a dweller in Sagami Province and a follower of Shimosuke no Kami."

Yorikata said :

"Well, let your whole tribe come on! But it isn't you that I am shooting at; I'm trying to hit the Commander-in-Chief," and shot two arrows across the river. As it was night-time, he could not see at whom he was shooting, and two men who happened to be coming in his direction were struck down off their horses. Then he himself was wounded through the lower part of his helmet and had to retire.

Shimosuke no Kami began his part of the battle by ordering his men to shoot a volley, but not satisfied with this, he was about to take the lead and make a charge, when Kamada Jiro Masakiyo caught his horse by the bridle and said :

"This is not the time for the Commander-in-Chief to advance. You ought to take the lead only at the last, when the enemy's force has been decimated."

But as Shimosuke no Kami still tried to go in advance of his men, Masakiyo called eighty foot-soldiers to him and gave them orders to protect the Commander, while he himself jumped on his horse and was the first to charge.

Aki no Kami Kiyomori had stopped on the eastern bank of the river-bed at Nijo, facing West. About fifty men went out from his force toward the enemy, and some of them said :

"Who are you that are guarding this place? Be good enough to tell us your names."

The men who said this announced themselves as Furuichi Ito Musha Kagetsuna, Furuichi Ito Go, and Furuichi Ito Roku, inhabitants of Ise Province and followers of Aki no Kami. Hachiro Tametomo on hearing this, said :

"I think even your master Kiyomori is not strong enough to fight with me. The Heike are descendants of Kashiwabara Tenno, but for a long time now their line has been degenerate. Every one knows the Genji; from Seiwa Tenno down to me,

Tametomo, there have been nine generations, and I am the eighth son of Rokujo Hangwan Tameyoshi, who is the grandson of Lord Hachiman the seventh in descent from Rokuson-o. If you are Kagetsuna, withdraw from here ! ”

“ A man answered ; Since ancient times, members of both the Genji and Heike clans have been officers in the army, and sometimes, in putting to death those who were disobedient to the Emperor, the leaders and followers of both clans have killed each other. I myself am a member of these same clans, and have had the honor of being known and promoted by officers of the Government. The reason for this is that I once captured Ono Shichiro the chief of the brigands, on Mount Suzuka in Ise Province, and have thus received the Emperors commands to become the Vice-Commander-in-Chief of his army. My name is Kagetsuna. Watch my arrow and see whether or not it strikes you ! ”

So saying, he pulled an arrow to the head and shot it. Tametomo was not in the least disturbed, but said :

“ You are not a strong enough enemy for me, but your words are so courteous that I shall give you an arrow. Take it ! It will be a great mark of honor for you in this world, and also something to remember me by in the next.”

The arrow was made of bamboo three years old with joints close together and slightly rubbed down. Its feathers were the tail-feathers of a “ copper pheasant.” The head was eight or nine inches long, and the socket covered more than half of the shaft. He put it against the bow, and waiting a moment, shot it whistling off. The arrow pierced the breast-plate of Ito Roku, who was first in the enemy's van, and passing through him, turned the sleeve of Ito Go's armor inside out and hung there. Ito Roku at once fell dead from his horse. Ito Go broke the arrow, and leaving it hanging in his sleeve, took it before Kiyomori, saying :

“ Look at this arrow from that youngster Hachiro ! You

can't call this the act of an ordinary human being! Ito Roku is dead already!"

First Akino Kami and then the rest of the men looked at the arrow, and their teeth chattered with fright. Kageetsuna said:

"In the 'Eight Year War,' at the castle of Kanazawa in Dewa Province, Takenori once said to Hachiman-Taro, 'Everybody struck by your arrows has been pierced through the armor or helmet. Will my lord graciously show me the full power of his bow?' Yoshiie hung six lots of armor on the limb of a tree, each lot consisting of three suits of thick leather, and shot an arrow through the whole six lots. And people feared him as if he were the apparition of a demon. After this, his soldiers obeyed him implicitly. This is the tradition as I have heard it."

With such an example under their very eyes of the power of Tametomo's bow, every one who saw it began to exclaim what a dreadful sight it was, and while they were talking in this strain, the same idea seemed to strike Kiyomori, for he said:

"I certainly have not been ordered to attack this particular gate. I simply happened to come here. Any other place will do as well. Suppose we go to the Eastern Gate?"

"That gate is near this one and may be defended by the same men. We had better go to the Northern Gate," said a soldier.

"You are right!" said Kiyomori. "And we had better go now. Day will soon dawn, and then it will look as if our large force was being chased away by this small one. That would never do."

While they were withdrawing, his eldest son Shigemori, the Nakatsukasa no Shosuke, came forward and spoke to him. His under-coat was of red brocade, the plates of his armor were shaped like the leaves of the water plantain, his twenty-four arrows had black shafts, the bindings of his bow were in pairs, and he rode a yellow clay-colored horse. He said:

"People who have received their Emperor's command to come here and fight ought not to run away, no matter how strong the enemy may be. Young men follow me!" and dashed forward. Kiyomori, on seeing this, said :

"I can not stand still and watch this! Here! All of you! Stop him! We have all seen the power of Tametomo's bow. We must be careful!"

A lot of soldiers ran in front of Shigemori, so that he was forced to go up through Kyogoku and advance on the Kasugomote Gate. Then Yamada Kosaburo Koreyuki, an inhabitant of Iga Province and a follower of Aki no Kami, spoke. He was such a headstrong man that when charging the enemy's line nothing could turn him aside until he had pierced it, and so was called "The Wild Boar." On seeing his Commander retreating, he said :

"Then are you afraid of a single arrow? And are you going to retreat from a position which you have already attacked? Suppose it *is* Tametomo's arrow, it won't pierce *my* armor! I have been to war under five separate Emperors, and have fought in fifteen battles. I have often been hit in the arm by many arrows but these arrows never yet pierced my armor. Look at me, all of you! I at any rate, can let myself be hit by one of Hachiro's arrows and live to tell the tale!"

He started forward. All the other men got around him and stopped him, advising him not to make a fool of himself and telling him it was useless, but he would not retract what he had said, and when day had dawned, spoke of it again :

"If one of my friends should be hit by Hachiro after I had already said that I would be the first to attempt the act, what should I do? I should be put to shame and lose my reputation. Well, well, if none of you will follow me, at least you must all stand witness for me."

One of the common soldiers followed him. Koreyuki wore a suit of armor made of black leather, and his helmet, made with five layers of plates, was pushed back on his head. He carried

eighteen arrows with colored feathers, and his bow, wrapped with rattan, was lacquered from tip to tip. He rode a fawn-colored horse with a black saddle. Bringing his horse to a stand in front of the gateway, he said :

"I am not such a great man as men go, but I am an inhabitant of Iga Province, a follower of Aki no Kami, and twenty-eight years old. My name is Yamada Kosaburo Koreyuki. I am the grandson of Yamada no Shoji Yukisuye who was well known among the nobility for being the first to go into battle under Bizen no Kami at the attack on Tsushima no Kami Yoshihito (on January 21st. 1107). My grandfather also captured innumerable mountain robbers and highwaymen. I too have been many times in battle and made a name for myself. I should like to have a sight of this young subaltern Hachiro, whose name I have heard."

Tametomo said to those about him :

"Of course this fellow is ready to shoot. Let him shoot one arrow; when he starts to let the second fly, I shall shoot him down. I shall show the enemy the power of my bow by hitting him at a spot where the arrow will go right through him."

Tametomo rode a horse of the color of white reeds, with a saddle bound with metal. He galloped out and announced himself;

"I am Chinzei Hachiro Tametomo!"

Koreyuki had an arrow ready and shot it with a loud twang of the bowstring. The arrow, weaving through the air, cut and pierced the skirt of Tametomo's armor, but did not touch his flesh. The first arrow having thus missed, Koreyuki tried to shoot a second, but Tametomo shot before him and his arrow whistled through the air. It pierced the pommel of Yamada's saddle, and cutting through the skirt of his coat of mail and his own body too, went through the cantle and stuck out three inches beyond. For a moment he seemed to be held in the saddle by the arrow, but suddenly he fell head-first to

the ground. The arrow-head remained in the saddle, and the horse ran out into the river-bed. Soldiers quickly ran to Koreyuki and putting him on their shoulders, carried him back to their camp. All the soldiers saw what had happened, and none of them would attack the gate again.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE STORMING OF THE SHIRAKAWA PALACE.

Now while day was slowly dawning, the riderless horse ran into the Genji camp. When Kamada Jiro caught it and looked at it, he found the seat of the saddle covered with blood, the pommel broken, and the chisel-like head of the arrow left in the cantle. He showed these things to the Commander-in-Chief, and said :

"This seems to have been done some time during the night by that young officer from Tsukushi. What terrible power his bow must have ! "

Yoshitomo answered :

"Hachiro is only eighteen or nineteen years old. He has not yet reached his full strength. He must have done this for the sake of frightening us. Do you go and have a fight-with him ! "

"Certainly ! " said Kamada, and taking with him about a hundred horsemen, he went out and announced himself :

"I am Kamada Jiro Masakiyo, a dweller in Sagami Province and a follower of Shimozuke no Kami."

Tametomo said :

"What ! are men of my own family coming against me ? You had better get out of the way of your Commander-in-Chief's arrows ! "

Masakiyo answered :

"Originally you were our master, but now you are the most criminal kind of a traitor ! Our men will make their reputations by killing off such rebels as you ! "

No sooner had he finished speaking than he drew his bow and let an arrow fly. The arrow struck the frontlet of Tame-tomo's helmet a ringing blow and then fastened itself in his neck-piece. Tametomo became very angry, and seizing the arrow, he pulled it out and flung it aside. Then he ran at Masakiyo without shooting at all and tried to catch him in his arms. Sudo-kuro Iyesuye, Akushichi Betto, and about twenty other horsemen followed him. Masakiyo suddenly lost heart, and taking his hundred horsemen with him, ran down the river-bed several hundred yards trembling with fear. Tametomo, his bow under one arm and waving the other over his head, chased them as far as possible, but at last said :

"We won't chase them too far. My father, the Hangwan, has a strong mind, but he's an old man. The men whom we have left behind talk very bravely, but they are not strong enough to fight well, and they are so few that the gate might be forced. Let us go back."

They turned back toward the gate. Kamada thought he would cut a sorry figure if he retreated down the western side of the river-bed and was pursued by the enemy right in front of the Commander's position ; so he went straight down the middle of the river-bed and then turned in to where Yoshitomo was standing. He said to him :

"The enemy seemed on the point of retreating, and I escaped by running diagonally across the river-bed. I have been through many a battle in the Bando districts, but I never saw such fierce fighting as we have had to-day. The fall of thunderbolts was nothing to it !"

Yoshitomo answered :

"It may be that you were afraid of him because you thought him a celebrated man ; you were more afraid of the man's reputation than of the man himself. But Hachiro was brought up in Tsukushi and learned to shoot his arrows from a boat and at a distance. I do not know how he uses the bow on land, but in horsemanship, how can he compare with the war-

riors of the Bando? Run up close to them, all of you, and fight hand to hand!"

As these were his orders, Sudo Gyobu no Jo Toshimichi, of Sagami Province, his sons of Takiguchi Toshitsuna, Ubina Gem-pachi Suyesada, and Hada no Jiro Nobukage with over two hundred horsemen ran after Tametomo. Tametomo again turned, and meeting them at the West and rear of the temple Hoshogon-in, fought with a violence that was like an outburst of flame. Yoshitomo, who was leading his men, wore a coat of red brocade. The cords of his armor were of black silk. His helmet had two horn-like ornaments, and he rode a horse with a black saddle. He stood up in his stirrups and called out in a loud voice:

"I am Shimozuke no Kami Minamoto no Yoshitomo, the ninth in descent from Seiwa Tenno. I have come here by order of the Commander-in-Chief. If you are men of my clan, surrender your position and disperse at once!"

Tametomo immediately answered:

"By command of the Emperor, my father had the honor of being made Commander of his forces, and I, Chinzei Hachiro Tametomo, have been appointed one of his defenders."

Yoshitomo spoke again:

"Then you must be one of my very much younger brothers. You will probably lose all divine assistance by drawing your bow against an elder brother. If you have any decency, you will put down your bow and surrender."

Tametomo answered:

"It is true that I shall have no heavenly help in drawing my bow against my elder brother, but how can you draw bow against your father, especially as he has received his orders from the Emperor himself?"

Yoshitomo, driven to bay by the justice of the reply, said never a word. But the men from Musashi and Sagami, a quick-tempered lot, all rushed straight into the fight. Tametomo defended himself for a short time, but thinking he ought not to

be too far from the Hangwan, he withdrew inside the gateway. The enemy, on seeing this, thought he was retreating because he could not defend the place, and taking advantage of their supposed victory, they rode up close and attacked the gate, fighting in a confused mass.

As Tametomo looked over the heads of the enemy's men, he saw that Yoshitomo, their General, was a large man and rode a large horse. He was giving his commands about the battle and his helmet stood up above those of the rest. Tametomo saw an easy mark, and was glad of having such a good chance. He put one of his great arrows to the bow and raised it with the idea of shooting Yoshitomo down with one shot. But he said to himself:

"Wait a moment! It may be that when he and our father parted from each other, they made an agreement that one should go to the Emperor's side and one to Sutoku-In's, and that if either of them should need personal help, he should call on the other."

So he unstrung the arrow which he had put to the bow; an admirable thought on his part, for none of those struck by Hachiro's arrows ever escaped with his life. He may have thought it a crime to kill these people, they being under his elder brother's command; at any rate, he did not carelessly shoot at men who had not announced their names.

Nagai no Saito Betto Sanemori, his younger brother Saburo Sanekazu, Katagiri Kohachiro Kageshige, Sudo Yakiguchi, and their principal vassals now attacked the gate furiously, again and again, and, as they considered it a very important place, Akushichi Betto, Tedorino Yoji, Takama no Saburo, Takama no Shiro, Yoshida no Taro, and others defended it with equal ardor. Tedorino Yoji ran out to meet Katagiri Kohachiro in single combat. Yoji was a young warrior, but Katagiri was an old man and worn out with fighting. He was very soon seen to be in danger, but Chichibu no Yukinari ran up to help him, and drawing an arrow to the head, let it fly. The

arrow struck the skirt of Tedori's armor on the right hand side, and he withdrew from the fight. Katagiri advanced to press the victory home, but Tametomo called Sudo Kuro to him and said :

"The enemy is in greater force than we. If I should happen to be struck down after having used all my arrows, our men will not be able to stand against a hundred times their number and we shall be beaten. Still, I have heard that the custom of the famous fighting-men of Bando is not to think, in the presence of their Commander, whether their fathers or children are dying, but to keep on fighting though the dead bodies are piled in heaps. Now then, I am thinking of frightening the enemy's General by the force of one of my arrows and driving him to retreat. What do you think of it?"

Sudo Kuro said :

"That is a good idea. But you may miss him."

"How could I miss him?" said Tametomo. "I know my own skill!" He strung one of his great arrows and sent it whistling off. He did not miss his aim. The arrow struck and tore off the silver star on Shimosuke no Kami's helmet, glanced off, hit the side gate at the entrance to Hoshogon-in, and went through the wood for half the arrow's length. Yoshitomo reined in his horse, and facing Tametomo, said :

"You are not the man I've heard you were ; you're nothing but a bungler!"

Tametomo answered :

"I have a certain amount of feeling for you as an elder brother and that is why I did as I did, but if you will really forgive me, I'll give you a second arrow. Which shall I aim at, your throatlet, your shoulder-piece, the middle of your breast-plate, or the first or second plate of the skirt of your armor?"

He had already put the arrow to his bow when a new man came out of the enemy's ranks and announced himself as Fukasu no Shichiro Kiyokuni, of Kozuke Province. So Tametomo

aimed at this man instead, and hit him. The arrow went through the third plate of Kiyokuni's helmet and pierced the base of his left ear in a downward direction. He lived only a short time. Sudo Kuro Iyesue fell upon him and cut off his head, but without paying any attention to what had happened, several more men came forward. Among them were Oba no Heida Kageyoshi, and his brother Saburo Kagechika, of Sagami, Province. They announced themselves:

"We are Oba no Heida Kageyoshi and Saburo Kagechika, descendants of Kamakura no Gongoro Kagemasa, who, when he was sixteen years old in the "Three Year War" of Hachiman Taro, at the attack made on the Kanazawa Castle in Dewa Province, went in the van of battle and was hit in the left eye by an arrow from the bow of Tori no Umi Saburo. The arrow tore his eye out and left it hanging on the first plate of his helmet, but he sent an arrow in reply and killed his enemy."

Tametomo, on hearing this, said that he had already shown his skill to the people of the Western Provinces, but this was his first battle with the warriors of the East; that he had used many ordinary arrows here, but now he thought he would shoot a "turnip-headed" one. (The head of the "turnip-headed" arrow was made of wood hollowed out and had holes in it through which the wind rushed and made a humming sound. This head was placed behind two curved blades of steel, and the arrow took its name from its shape. Ordinary ones had three holes, but those specially made had nine.) The edges of the holes were sharp, and the air space inside was sufficiently hollowed out. Where the head was fastened to the shaft, it was painted vermilion. The length of the blades was the same as that of the perforated head and they stood out beyond the "turnip" about six inches. For an inch back from the tips they were sharpened on both sides. The length of the shaft was fifteen hand-breadths. Tametomo put this arrow to his bow and let it fly. It made a long-drawn sound that echoed through the whole palace, and cut off at the knee the left leg of

Oba no Heida, who was standing fifty or sixty feet away. It then passed on and hit his horse in the belly without piercing it, and the head was broken to pieces. The horse fell with a crash like a folding screen, and the rider was thrown in front of it. The younger brother, Saburo, leapt from his horse to prevent the taking of Heida's head, and lifting him on his shoulder, carried him back for about a quarter of a mile.

Toyoshima no Shiro, of Musashi Province, was shot in the right thigh by Sudo Kuro. Maru no Taro, of Awa Province, was hit in the side by One no Yozo, and retired from the fight. Chujo, Shingo, and Shinroku, Narita no Taro and six other warriors came forward one after the other and fought single combats. All of them were wounded, some of them were captured, and the rest withdrew from the field. Then a man galloped up riding an iron-grey horse and wearing black leather armor and a helmet with horns like those of an ox. He announced himself as Akushichi Betto. Ebina Gempachi ran out to meet him and fought with him. Akushichi was hit by an arrow through the lower part of his armor, and became somewhat weak. As soon as he saw this, Saito Betto Sanemori ran up and engaged with him, but Akushichi drew his sword and cut through Sanemori's helmet. Although he was wounded, Sanemori made an upward stroke at the back of Akushichi's head. He made no mistake, and Akushichi's head fell forward to the ground. Sanemori caught up the head, and fixing it on the point of his sword, held it aloft while he said:

"I am Saito Betto Sanemori, the ninth in descent from the Shogun Toshihito. I am thirty-one years old and live in Sagami. If any one of you wishes to meet me, let him come on!"

But no one came forward to fight with him.

Kaneko no Juro wore a coat spotted like a fawn and a suit of armor of colored leather. He rode a fawn-colored horse with a black saddle. He had shot all his arrows, but drawing his sword, he held it straight over his head and announced himself:

"I am Kaneko no Juro Iyetada, of Musashi Province. I am nineteen years old. This is my first battle. If any one on Tametomo's side wishes to meet me, let him come!"

Tametomo said :

"Ah! the poor, brave, young fellow! He's standing at just the right distance for my arrow. I suppose I could shoot him down with one shot, but he looks too gentle. Some one of you go out and cut his head off, and bring it here. I'd like to look at it."

A man who announced himself as Takama no Shiro, wearing a reddish-yellow coat and a purple leather sash, rode his chestnut horse to the side of the young man, and grasping him in his arms, fell down to the ground with him. Both of the Takama brothers, Saburo and Shiro, were well known for their great strength, but Iyetada had happened to fall on top of Shiro and now held him down. However, just as he was about to cut off his head, Takama no Saburo fell upon him and kept him from killing his younger brother. He caught hold of Iyetada's helmet and tried to cut off his head, but Iyetada got both of Shiro's arms under his knees, and seizing hold of the skirt of Saburo's armor, stabbed him three times so deeply that the sword-guard and his own hand went into the wounds. Then he cut Shiro's head off, and putting it on the point of his sword shouted :

"I, Iyetada, have killed the Takama brothers in the very presence of their acknowledged deity Tsukushi no Onsoji Tametomo!"

Sudo Kuro Iyesuye, not feeling at all satisfied with this state of affairs, started to attack Iyetada and shoot him down, but Hachiro said :

"I say, Sudo! It would be a pity to kill such a brave fighter. Let him go free. If we win, I'll make him one of my followers."

The reason for Iyetada's being so brave may have been that he was under the protection of the God of War. It was very

wonderful that he should have been able to save his own life and make such a splendid reputation for himself at the same time, and on this account he was promoted to be a General.

(A good many more men from the Emperor's side came forward to fight, but they were all killed or wounded by Tametomo and his men, one after the other). On seeing so many of his men fall, the Commander-in-Chief Yoshitomo began to be somewhat weary of fighting, but Nei no Oyata, of Shinano Province, who wore a dark blue coat, a helmet with a white star, and rode a horse with a pink nose came forward and said:

"When would a battle be decided if soldiers rested after they had simply got the better of their enemy? Are we not like hawks seeking their prey? And are these rebels not like pheasants afraid of a hawk? Well then, let us attack them!"

So saying, he put himself at the head of his men, and followed by about thirty horsemen, attacked the gate in a mass. By fighting furiously, they managed to get inside and killed several of Tametomo's men. By this time, out of twenty-eight men whom Tametomo valued highly, twenty-three were killed and the other five were mostly wounded. On the side of the attacking party, fifty-three noted warriors had been killed and over seventy wounded.

When the enemy makes an attack in a mass arranged like the scales of a fish, the defending side must arrange themselves like the open wings of a crane and thus scatter their men. One's own side takes the offensive, the positive, and tries to surround the enemy, while the enemy acts on the defensive, the negative, and tries not to be surrounded. As both sides knew these methods of fighting, which have been made traditional by the secret writings of Goshi and Sonshi and by the Chinese hermit Kwosekko, the enemy's side were not scattered and Tametomo's men did not retreat. But on the side of Sutoku-In, though his force of horsemen had been sadly reduced in number, no one could tell when the battle would be over. A mass of men was approaching the Eastern gate, and there were but three horse-

men there to defend it. These three however, fought to the last. At the Western Gate, the Rokujo Hangwan Tameyoshi wore a long silk coat and his suit of armor called "Usugane." The horns of his helmet were shaped like a hoe. He rode a dappled horse, with a saddle edged with silver. He advanced with his five sons before and behind him. At sight of him, people said "Ah! this is the Commander-in-Chief!" In other parts of the battle, fighting was going on confusedly, with advances and retreats, but neither side was winning or losing. Then Yoshitomo sent a message to the Imperial Palace, saying that he had made his attack in force with the intention of winning a victory that same night, but that on account of the enemy's strong defense, he had not been able to succeed; that he now saw no other way than to set fire to the palace; that the temple Hosshō-ji was to leeward of the palace and he was afraid its building would be burnt, but that he would obey the Emperor's commands. The Shonagon Nyudo Shinzei received this message and issued the following order:

"Yoshitomo's idea is an admirable one. If the Emperor continues to reign, he can at once build another temple like the Hosshō-ji. Yoshitomo need not have the least compunction in burning it. The only thing for him to think of is how to exterminate the enemy as soon as possible."

Yoshitomo therefore set fire to the dwelling-house of the Chunagon Iyenari which stood to the West of the palace, because there was a strong West wind blowing. Fierce flames were immediately blown by the wind over the palace, and within it, female officers, nurses, servants, and children lost their way in the smoke and ran about weeping and getting in the way of the fighting men to such an extent as to hinder them badly in their military duties. The people, as they escaped from the palace, looked like fallen leaves in Winter, blown hither and thither by a mountain wind.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE ESCAPE OF SUTOKU AND THE SADAIJIN.

Now Uyemon no Daiyu Iyehiro and his son Chugu Jicho Mitsuhiro left the smaller gate of Kasuga-Omote, and running their horses up to Sutoku-In, said excitedly :

"Not only have the enemy attacked us in immense numbers, but the whole Palace is a mass of flames! Nothing is left but to retreat to some other place."

Sutoku was bewildered by the suddenness of the calamity and had lost all power to direct affairs, but the Sadaijin, who was walking restlessly to and fro, said to Iyehiro and his son :

"Under the circumstances, it is you who must save our lives."

He at once called the Shii Shonagon and handed him his sword. The Shonagon took the sword and put it in his sash. Sutoku had already mounted his horse but as he seemed to be in danger of falling on account of his inexperience in riding, the Kurando Nobusane got up behind him and held him in the saddle. The Sadaijin too was on his horse, but the Shii Chunagon mounted behind him and helped him keep his seat. They went out at the Eastern Gate, and while they were hurrying toward Kita-Shirakawa, an arrow, shot by some man whom they did not see, struck the Sadaijin in the throat and apparently injured his spine. Naritaka, the Shonagon, pulled the arrow out and threw it away, and the blood spirted out of the wound as if sent from a syringe. The Sadaijin could neither keep his feet in the stirrups nor hold the reins in his hand, and so fell head-first from the saddle, bringing Naritaka Ason also to the ground. The Shikibu no Daiyu Morinori held the Sadaijin's head on his knee and wept, covering his own face with his sleeve. The Kurando Daiyu Tsunenori also ran up and embraced the Sadaijin, but all was in vain.

Nobunori almost ran by them on his way to Matsugasaki,

but when he saw the Sadaijin, he laid aside his helmet and with the aid of Tsunenori carried him into a small house that happened to be there. At first they tried applying a cautery to the mouth of the wound, but the Sadaijin still grew weaker and it was of no use. On examining the course of the arrow, they found it had passed through from the lower part of his throat to the upper part of his left ear. It was strange that it had taken this upward direction. It may have been sent by a God. The Sadaijin's blue and white court dress was dyed red by the constant flow of blood. His eyes were still open, but he never spoke a word. They thought they would let him rest there a while, but hearing the enemy was approaching in the direction of Engaku-ji, a temple belonging to the Hangwan, they had a cart brought up, and putting the Sadaijin into it, took him towards Saga. As soon as they arrived at Saga, Tsunenori asked for a priest, but there was none present. So they went into the empty temple and spent the night there.

CHAPTER IV.

Meanwhile, the Shin-In Sutoku, with Tameyoshi, Iyehiro, Mitsuhiro, and the Musha Dokoro Sueyoshi, went on his way to Nyoï-Zan on Higashi Yama. The mountain path was so dangerous and there were so many difficult places that they had to leave their horses and climb up on foot. His followers pulled Sutoku up by his arms or pushed at his back, but he was so unaccustomed to walking that his feet were soon bleeding and walking became painful for him. He quickly lost his breath and moved as if in a dream. All his people were about him, trying to help him, but his eyes became dull and he asked if any one were there. Each man had to tell him his name. He asked for water and they all tried to find some, but there was none. However, a priest who passed by on his way to the temple was carrying a water-bottle, and Iyehiro asked him for it and took it to the Emperor. After this he seemed a little better, and the officers inquired if it would not be as well to hurry on, seeing

that the enemy was probably pursuing them. The Emperor answered that the officers might go wherever they pleased, but that he himself could do no more and would stay where he was. The Hangwan Tameyoshi and all the other officers said that they had already given their lives to the Emperor and could not leave him; that they would follow him whether he went to the Eastern Provinces or anywhere else; and that they were all bound to see the affair through. Sutoku said that he too had had that intention, but now there was nothing more to be done; that they had all better save their lives by retiring quickly, and that if they hesitated, the enemy would take his life. He repeated this two or three times, and the officers, thinking it would be wrong to oppose him, wet the sleeves of their armor with their tears, in pity for him. There was no use in doing as they were doing, and so they all scattered in various directions.

Tameyoshi and Tadamasa went toward Mii-dera (Enjo-ji). Only Iyehiro and Mitsuhiro were left. These two pulled the Emperor down into a depression in the ground, and hiding him among some small bushes, waited for night to come. He said he wished to retire from the world and become a priest, and when they told him that was impossible here in the mountains, his voice was choked with tears and he said no more. When the sun had set, they took him on their shoulders and passing to the North of Hossho-ji, brought him to a place near the temple Tokwo-ji where they had long been well known. Here they hired a palanquin and carried Sutoku about in it during the whole night, trying to find some friendly house in which to hide him. But wherever they went, they found their friends had all run away from town, and when day dawned they were forced for want of a better place to take him into a poor little temple called Chusoku-in in the suburbs. The three men stayed here for a few days, and Sutoku here shaved his head, but not thinking it good to stay too long, they finally removed to the temple Ninwa-ji, the place where Sutoku had wanted to go from the first. From here Iyehiro went toward the Northern Mountains,

He happened to meet some pilgrim priests on the way, and through talking religion with them and learning to observe the five commandments of the Buddha, he became a sort of priest himself.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE BURNING OF THE ENEMY'S PRIVATE MANSIONS.

Now when Yoshitomo and Kiyomori returned to the Imperial Palace, they reported to the Emperor that the fighting had started at four in the morning, the Shirakawa Palace had fallen at eight o'clock, and Sutoku and the Sadaijin had disappeared together no one knew where. So the Emperor gave urgent orders to the Kurando Ushoben Sukenaga to pursue these rebels with all haste. But before doing so, he hurried, also under the Emperor's commands, to Sutoku's mansion in Karasumaru, Sanjo ward, and burned it down. Suketsune Hangwan was sent to "Mibutei," the villa of the Sadaijin, and set it afire. A Kebiishi went to each of twelve other rebels' dwellings, and after arresting their families, burned the houses. The Suwo Hangwan Suezane was sent to guard the Uji bridge because the country around Nara had not yet been pacified and it was possible that some violence might still be done there.

People in general felt that the reason this battle had been won so easily was that the Ise Daijingu and the Iwashimu Hachiman Daibosatsu had come to their aid. The Emperor, following precedent, had sent a petition to the Gods, written with his own hand, to be placed on the altar of the principal temple on Hiei-Zan, and the High Priest there had prayed with the utmost devotion. It was on this account alone that the Emperor's army had won its victory, and for this reason the temple Soji-in on Hiei-Zan was thereafter known as the place where the Empire had been made peaceful by the assistance obtained from the Gods by prayer.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE KWAMPAKU'S RETURN TO OFFICE AND THE
DISTRIBUTION OF REWARDS TO THE WARRIORS.

While matters were in this state, the Ex-Regent Tadasane, on hearing of Sutoku's complete defeat, had pulled the foot-boards up from the Uji bridge to prevent pursuit, and had gone to Nara with the three sons of the Sadaijin. He then gave orders to the head priests of several temples to publicly announce to their soldier-priests and to the people of the country-side that they must fight with him against the Emperor, and that all who were faithful would receive special rewards. The part these head priests were to take in the plot was to kill the Kampaku's son, who was High-Steward of Kofuku-ji. The High-Steward however learned of the plot and escaped to the Capital. The people thereupon began to gossip among themselves:

"What sort of a conspiracy is this? The Emperor has always had a high opinion of Tadasane and we have always treated him with respect, but now he's angry because the office of Head of the Family, which had belonged to him for many years, has been taken from him, and his younger brother has been made Sadaijin. It is on this account alone that the country has been thrown into this confusion. If he had not had trouble with the present Regent, Tadasane would have had nothing to fear. But now he has made the great mistake of getting ready to attack the Emperor. Besides this, though men of both the Genji and Heike clans have fought together, under the commands of the two Emperors, with about equal fury, the Heike have won the battle because they obeyed, as they should, the ten Buddhist commandments. Now that Tadasane is about to start another rebellion in exactly the same way, he must either have been misled by some demon, or else he does not recognize the fact that Sutoku has already received a divine reproof."

That same night the Kwampaku took again the title of

Head of the Clan. In the era of Kyuan (1145-1151), this office had been vested, by Tadasane's intrigues, in the Sadaijin, but now the Kwampaku was fortunate enough to regain it. The rewards were announced to the officers about midnight. Aki no Kami Kiyomori was appointed Governor of Harima, Shimosuke no Kami Yoshitomo was made Sama Gon no Kami, and Mutsu no Shin-Hangwan Yoshiyasu was made a Kurando, that is, admitted to Court rank. Yoshitomo said in regard to his appointment:

"This title is like a sweet scent in my nostrils, because my ancestor Tada Manju Hōshi was the first to hold it, but as I have always been a Sama no Suke I do not feel that an appointment to be Gon no Kami is as high an honor as I deserve. I have always heard that the man who conquers the Emperor's enemies is given half the country and his name is handed down in glory forever. I have done even more than this. I have antagonised my father, discarded my brothers, and come here alone to fight your battles, so my merit is greater than that of other men. Bowing to the commands of the Emperor, I have actually drawn my bow against my father! —an almost impossible act and one really remarkable for its rarity! Now, since I have obeyed the Imperial Command and thrown aside my duty to my own father, ought I not to receive a reward much greater than that of other men?"

The Emperor agreed that he was in the right, and gave him the title of Sama no Kami, held until then by Takasuye Ason the son of Prince Nakamikado To Chunagon Iyenari.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING TADASANE'S GRIEF FOR THE SADAIJIN'S DEATH.

Now finding the Sadaijin still alive on the morning of the 12th, the men with him hired a small boat with the intention of taking him to Nara by way of Umezu and giving him into the care of his father. They covered the boat with branches and leaves, and floated down the Katsura river. At sunset, they

stopped for the night in the lower reaches of the Kamo river, and at dawn of the next day, went on to Kizu, where they rested under a grove of oak-trees. The Sadaijin was gradually growing weaker and his end seemed near, so they sent the Zusho no Jo Toshinari to the Nyudo Tadasane, who was at the Zenjo-in in the temple of Kofuku. Tadasane really wished to go at once to meet the Sadaijin, but probably thought that to see him in his present state would be too great a sorrow. At any rate he said to the messenger :

"Why should he want to see me? Neither do I wish to see him. Look at the matter for yourself, Toshinari. To think that a man who has been Head of the Clan should be struck down by the arrow of a common soldier! There is no use in going to see such an unlucky fellow. Such a thing has never been heard of since the world began! Tell him to go anywhere he likes, so long as I never see him again!"

These were his words, but that he really felt the deepest sorrow may be judged from the fact that tears were running down his face before he had finished speaking. When Toshinari went back and delivered his message, the Sadaijin nodded his head in acquiescence, but his face soon changing its expression, he bit off the tip of his tongue and spat it out. No one understood why he did this, but as he had done it, they knew of nothing else to do for him but to put him into palanquin, which they borrowed from a priest, and carry him into Nara. They arrived there on the 14th. The priests there thought that if they took him into their own part of the temple, they could not keep the affair secret from outsiders; so they let him stay in a small house in the neighborhood. They nursed him in every way they could, but the end came about noon, and they buried him that night in the cremation-ground of "The Field of Wisdom" (Hannya-no). The Kurando Daiyu carried out the full funeral ceremonies, and then entered the priesthood. He then went to the temple Zenjo-in where the Nyudo was living and told him the details of all that had happened. The Sadai-

jin's wife and sons mourned over him in an extraordinary manner, but the Nyudo simply covered his face with his hands and wept silently for a long time.

(At last, however, he spoke and expressed his grief in a long speech.)

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After the Sadaijin's death, the government officers gave up many of their ancient customs, and both the Court and the palace officials seemed about to abandon all court etiquette. The world at large too lamented his death. He had been born in a family which had held the Regency for many generations; he had been appointed Inspector of Public Documents and admitted to the Court; he was possessed of surpassing ability and was celebrated for his talents; but, while he was Head of the Clan, he once had a communication in a dream from the Kasuga Daimyoin to tell him that the God would not protect him thereafter because he was too neglectful of religious matters and too ambitious of personal advancement. The will of the Gods is a fearsome thing.

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(On the whole) there was something wrong with his motives, and he lost his life because his acts were not what his ancestral Gods judged they should have been.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING THE EMPEROR'S COMMAND THE SHIGENARI TO GUARD THE SHIN-IN.

Now Sutoku had gone of his own accord to Omuro (Ninwa-ji), but not being allowed to stay in the temple reserved for Imperial guests, he had been permitted to live in the Chief Priest's apartments. The Go-no-Miya, afterwards the Emperor Uda, a younger brother of both Go-Shirakawa and Sutoku, was

also living in Omuro, and when the Emperor was informed by this Prince of Sutoku's arrival, the Sado no Shikibu Daiyu was sent there to mount guard over him. Sutoku was too much dispirited to fix his mind on any one thing, but he did manage to write the following poems :

Omoiki ya
 Mi wo uki kumo to
 Nashi hatete
 Arashi no kaze ni
 Makasubeshi to wa.

(Would that my body were changed into a floating cloud and left to the winds and storms.)

Uki koto no
 Madoromu hodo wa
 Wasurarete
 Samureba yume no
 Kokochi koso sure.

(Sadness is forgotten while I sleep, but when I awake, I feel as though I were dreaming.)

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING THE CAPTURE OF SEPARATE REBELS.

Some of Sutoku's followers had hidden themselves in the mountains and some had gone to distant provinces, and none of the government officials knew where they were, but the scheme was formed of publicly announcing that the Shonagon Shinzei knew positively that certain men (naming them) had gone to a particular place and others had gone to another. On hearing of this announcement, the men, who had really escaped all chance of capture, shaved their heads, put on the garments of priests, and came out of their scattered hiding-places. The two men Sakyo no Daiyu Norinaga and Omi no Chijo Narimasa had really become priests and were staying in a place called Uzu-masa. The Suwo Hangwan Suyezone was sent to capture

them. Shii no Shonagon Naritaka and Sama Gon no Kami Sanekiyo had changed their appearance to that of priests and had gone to the house of the High Priest of Tendai-zan in the Jodo valley. These men and others with them had pretended to be priests against their will, and so they now came out of hiding contending with each other as to who should be the first to give himself up.

Six men who had really entered the priesthood, among them Motonori, Tsunenori, and Sukeyasu, were starved out by cutting off their water-supply, and were then examined by torture at one of the barriers. They were supposed to know how the rebellion started because they were relatives of the Sadaijin on his mother's side. When the question was put to them why Sutoku had brought curses on Konoe no In and Bi fuku Monin, and the executioners approached to put cords around their heads, they faced the executioners with their hands in the attitude of prayer and said, "What are you doing? You ought to spare us!" On their saying this, all the officers who were sitting there as Inspectors turned their heads away out of pity for them, but they were punished the usual seventy-five times, according to law. At first they screamed at the top of their voices, but later on they lost breath and made no sound. The torture continued for many days, and on the 15th of the month they were punished with particular severity and tortures were used which had generally been reserved for those above the fifth rank of honor; something that before this had very seldom happened. It is said that in the time of the Mizu-no-o Tenno (the Emperor Seiwa), the Prince Dainagon Tomo no Yoshiwo was suspected of having burned or caused to be burned the Otomon gateway and was tortured at a police station. He was convicted and banished. This was an ancient affair and there had been no necessity for such torture in modern times. It was on this account that no mercy was shown to these men.

CHAPTER X.

CONCERNING SHIGEHITO'S ENTRY INTO THE PRIESTHOOD.

No one knew the whereabouts of Ichi-no-Miya Shigehito Shinno, but while other people were vainly looking for him here and there, the Hangwan Sanctoshi discovered him on the 15th of the month. He, was riding in a carriage generally used for serving women and was going toward the West, in front of the Shugaku Gate. The servants who were with him said that he was on his way to Ninwa-ji in order to become a priest. When this was told to the Emperor, he commanded that Shigehito be allowed to carry out his own wishes. Afterwards, on account of some particulars given him by Sojo Kakugyo, a priest of the temple Kezo-in, the Emperor had him removed to the temple Higashi-no-To-in in Naka-no-Mikado district, and Sanctoshi was at once ordered to go and stand guard over him.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING THE SURRENDER ON TAMEYOSHI.

Now Harima no Kami had been ordered to find the Rokujo Hangwan and his children. So on the 16th, Kiyomori went over Mount Niyoi with more than three hundred horsemen and searched for him at Miidera, but without success. Hearing that he was at the eastern foot of the mountain, Kiyomori went to the places called Yamato-no-Sho and Izumi-no-Tsuji and arrested many people there. At this all the people became angry, because these places belonged to the temple Mudo-ji. They said :

"It makes us indignant that men should be pursued and captured in temple grounds. If you have any reason for arresting people, you ought to tell the temple authorities and let them attend to it. To rush in violently without announcing your coming beforehand is a wild way of acting !"

And they fought recklessly against the soldiers. When the imperial force withdrew, fearing the anger of the Gods, the people, thinking it was they who had won a victory, captured two or three of Kiyomori's soldiers. Kiyomori also burned down the village of Higashi-Ura in Otsu. This place too belonged to a temple, but he had heard that these people, the day before, had helped Tameyoshi to escape in a boat to Higashi Omi. This however was an unfounded rumor.

Tameyoshi had gone from a place called Naokawa and had hidden himself in the house of a Shinto priest named Mokuno, but on hearing that soldiers were coming to take him, he went to the house of a man named Mikawa no Saburo Daiyu Chikasuye. From here he intended to go down to the Eastern Provinces, but his luck deserted him, he was taken with a serious illness and was in great bodily distress. His servants, thinking his family God had forsaken him, took to flight and only his children and eighteen other people were left with him. In some way or other they managed to put him on a horse, and going to Minoura were about to get into a boat, when thirty horsemen, whom no one recognised, came up and attacked them, intending to kill Tameyoshi. However, Yorikata and the few officers under him fought so fiercely in his defense that they drove these horsemen off. Meanwhile, the common soldiers who had been with him disappeared.

After this, things became hopeless, for not only did the Hangwan lose heart but he was dangerously ill. Then he heard that the roads along the sea-coast were blocked and the barriers strictly guarded, so, thinking it impossible to go to the Eastern Provinces, he started back to Saburo Daiyu's house, and when night fell, climbed the mountain again, to the temple. Here he passed the whole of that night in the Hall of Worship, mournfully praying to be relieved of his illness. When day dawned, on the 17th, he went to a place called Kitadani Kurodani, where the "Western Pagoda" stands, and after visiting his son's grave at the Nijugo cremation-ground, entered the priesthood. He took

the name "Gihobo" as his priestly title; the lower priests of the Gwantsurimbo offered him a black robe and scarf; and he adopted the appearance of a novice.

Tameyoshi, when he was fourteen years old, had killed Mino no Saburo Yoshiakira the son of his uncle Mino no Zenji Yoshitsuna, and at that time had been appointed Sahyoe no Jo. His original name was Mutsu no Shiro. When he was eighteen, in the fourth month of the first year of Eikyu (1113), at the time of some trouble with the Bishop of Kiyomizu-dera, many of the priests of Nara became angry at the Imperial Court, and gathering their fellows together, advanced as far as Kurisu Mountain, under the leadership of the priest of Kasuga, Shim-boku. Tameyoshi hurried against them and drove them back, and as a reward, was made Saemon no Jo. He became Kebiishi Goi no Jo when he was twenty-eight. He had lately been requesting of Naka no Mikado Chunagon Iyenari to be made Mutsu no Kami, but had been refused for these reasons: His grandfather had formerly been appointed to the governorship of Mutsu, and during his term of office the rebellion of Abe no Sadato and Abe no Muneto had started the "Nine Year War." Hachiman Taro Yoshiie had also been made Governor of Mutsu, and by attacking Takehiro and Iyehira, had brought on the subsequent "Three Year Rebellion." Now as something still remained to be done in this province in the way of pacification, if Tameyoshi were made Mutsu no Kami, he would certainly want to conquer Motohira the then leader of the rebels there. This would have brought on another war and would have been a bad omen, and for these reasons he was not appointed. Tameyoshi, thinking it useless to be made Governor of any other province, had not become a Kami at all, and was now sixty-one years old. For a long time past, he had been a Kebiishi, although not of such rank as to be admitted to the steps of the Palace. Now he had joined Sutoku's useless rebellion and not having succeeded in even these long-cherished plans, had finally, thro' disappointment, entered the priesthood.

"Gihobo" now called his sons about him and addressed them as follows :

"You have followed me as suited my purposes, and have had to hide yourselves with me among the woods and mountains. But now there will be a change. I intend to go to the Capital and pin all my faith upon Yoshitomo. I think he may be able to save my life as a reward for the help he has given the Emperor. This may be impossible on account of my having selfishly taken the command of Sutoku-In's forces, but that can not be helped. Being in my seventh decade, I do not prize life very highly, but if by one chance in ten thousand my useless life is saved, I shall be able in some way or other to save yours too. You must all hide yourselves in the most out-of-the-way places possible, and wait until matters have quieted down."

Tametomo at once replied to his father.

"This is not the right thing to do. Even if Shimozuke no Kami is willing to save your life on account of his relation to you as your son, the Emperor will not allow him to do so. My reason for thinking so is this: Sutoku-In is the true elder brother of the Emperor and the Sadaijin was the younger brother of the Regent, and yet they both have been punished. How can what you have done be anything but a crime in the Emperor's eyes, even though you are Yoshitomo's father? It is my opinion that no matter what Yoshitomo may say to the Emperor it will have no effect. What you ought to do is this: when your illness improves, you ought in some way or other to go to the Kwanto and consult with such men as Miura no Suke Yoshiakira, Hatakeyama Shoji Shigeyoshi, and Oyamada Betto Arishige,—men who were not present at the battle which we have just had. Then you should take over the government of the Eight Provinces and stay there for a time. If a force come from Kyoto to attack us, I shall do my part and fight to the utmost of my ability, and if I fail, shall kill myself. Why should you not wait, for a short time at any rate, before going to the Capital?"

But Tameyoshi said :

"Such things should be considered only if we had arrived at the Eastern Provinces. Here we are fugitives and can not act as we wish, so we had better surrender."

(Then after an affecting parting with his sons, he went down the mountain towards Kyoto.)

The Nyudo passed the Kamo river and sent the Zoshiki Hanazawa to Yoshitomo from the "Wood of Tadasu." When this officer had described the place to which the Nyudo had escaped, Yoshitomo sent a palanquin for him and secretly received him into his own house.

CHAPTER XII.

CONCERNING THE KILLING OF TADAMASA AND MASAHIRO.

Now Heima no Suke Tadamasa, Kiyomori's uncle, had become a priest and had hidden himself securely in the Jodo valley, but hearing that even Tameyoshi had surrendered, he went to the Capital with his four sons, relying for help on his nephew Harima no Kami Kiyomori.

Meanwhile, the Kurando Hangwan Yoshiyasu had captured Saemon Daiyu Masahiro, together with his one son and two grandsons, and had cut off their heads at Oeno Yama.

At about four in the afternoon, Kiyomori, under the Emperor's orders, killed the five men Heima no Suke Tadamasa and his four sons.

Heima no Suke had thought it a mistake to have the same name as the Betto Kwazan-in Chunagon Tadamasa, and had changed his own name to Tadakazu. He was the eleventh lineal descendant of Kwanmu Tenno and the second son of Sanuki no Kami Masamori, who was a descendant in the sixth generation of the Taira General Tadamori. After Sutoku's defeat, he had become a priest and had hidden himself, but now

he had given himself up, thinking that Kiyomori would surely not go to the length of killing him. If Kiyomori had really tried to save Tadakazu's life, he might have been able to do so, but he had a shockingly treacherous scheme in his mind. He thought that at any rate he and his uncle had never been good friends together, and that if he killed him now, Yoshitomo would also be ordered to kill his own father, Tameyoshi. If there was any idea of pardoning Tameyoshi, this action would put an end to it. It was indeed a treacherous thought, and act.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCERNING TAMEYOSHI'S DEATH.

Now when Sanna no Kami Yoshitomo was ordered to cut off Tameyoshi's head, he made the most earnest requests to the Emperor on two occasions to be relieved of the duty. But this only made the Emperor angry. He answered that since Kiyomori had executed his own uncle, Yoshitomo could not be allowed further delay in a like matter; that Kiyomori's uncle was the same thing as a father because Kiyomori had always acted more like a son to him than a nephew, and Yoshitomo must execute Tameyoshi at once; that if Yoshitomo still resisted the Emperor's command, one of Kiyomori's lower officers would be ordered to do the work.

The Emperor's commands carried such overwhelming weight with Yoshitomo that he repressed his tears and yielded, but he said to his chief officer Kamada no Jiro:

"Such is the Emperor's decree that if I execute the Hangwan Dono, I shall be committing one of the five cardinal crimes, and if, to escape doing this crime, I disobey my orders, I shall thereby become an outlaw. What am I to do?"

Kamada answered respectfully:

"Forgive me, but what a foolish man you are to say such things! If one should kill his father in a personal quarrel, that would be a crime. It is written in the 'Kwannon Sutra' that

since the world began there have been eighteen thousand wicked kings who have killed their fathers, and not one who has killed his mother. These were murders and were committed in order that the wicked kings might seize their fathers' thrones. But this act of yours would not be done in a personal quarrel. This man Tameyoshi is an enemy of the Emperor's, and that is why his life can not be spared. Even if you had not received the Imperial Decree, you could not postpone his death from day to day as you have been doing. As long as you are living in the same house with him, it will be better to kill him yourself than to watch somebody else do it. Afterwards, you can perform your filial duties in the way of prayers and ceremonies as much as you please. What is there distressing about it?"

"Well," said Yoshitomo, "that is your idea of it, not mine," and walked into an inner room, weeping. But soon afterwards, he went to Kamada's house. Then Kamada came and told the Hangwan that for the moment, the Heike clan was all powerful in the Capital and that Yoshitomo was in as great danger as a spider among stones; that he was about to start for the Eastern Provinces, and with the idea of letting the Hangwan go first, had sent a carriage for him to ride in. If the Hangwan had known of Kamada's intention earlier in the day, he would have gone to Yawata to take leave of his family before starting, but as it was, he turned his face to the South and prayed, and then reluctantly entered the carriage.

Now Kamada had stationed a palanquin in Sujaku, in Shichijo district. His reason for doing so was that he was making ready to kill the Hangwan when he should change from the carriage to the palanquin. Just then Hadano no Jiro Nobukage came up and said to Kamada:

"Your plan is a wrong one. The end of a man's life is one of the most important of occasions for the man himself. To kill him without warning is a brutal thing to do. You ought at least to tell him frankly what you are about to do and urge

him to say his last prayers. Besides, he may have something that he particularly wants to say."

Kamada answered :

"You are quite right. It was my idea to do it in this way so that he might not worry too much over the matter, but I have made a mistake."

Then Nobukage went to the Hangwan and said :

"The truth is that this carriage was not brought for the purpose of taking you to the Kwanto. My lord has received orders to have Kamada Masakiyo dispatch you with a sword. In spite of his having often and earnestly besought your release, the Emperor's commands were so pressing that he was forced to give orders for your death. So you must make peace with your soul and say your prayers."

When he had finished speaking, Tameyoshi said :

"Ah, what a disappointment! Such a man as Tameyoshi should have been killed without being deceived. If the Emperor's command outweighed his desire to save my life, why did he not tell me so, frankly? If he had really intended to save me, why did he not give his life for mine? If Yoshitomo had been putting his trust in me, I should have given my life for his. It is written that the Buddhas care for the whole world, but the world has no thought for the Buddhas, and parents constantly watch over their children, but children are not attentive to their parents. So Yoshitomo is not the only one at fault; it is the habit of children not to think so much of their parents as the parents think of them. The one thing that I regret is that he did not let me know about it from the first."

He repeated his prayers a hundred times over, and then, without showing the least fear of death but thinking the common people would be coming to watch his beheading, he urged Kamada to hurry. Kamada drew his sword and took his stand behind Tameyoshi, but being reluctant to cut off the head of his hereditary master, his tears blinded him and he could not see where to aim his stroke. So he gave up his sword to

another man. Then Tameyoshi repeated the verse, "He who truly believes will see, at the end of his life, Amida Nyorai coming to welcome him and take him to Paradise."

After the official identification of the head, orders were given that it should be handed to Yoshitomo and that he should perform the usual masses and offer the sacrifices to the dead. Kamada Masakiyo thereupon took the body and head and buried them in the temple grounds at Engaku-ji, on Hiei-Zan. He built a tomb, raised an altar, placed the *sotoba*, and performed the various ceremonies to the dead.

Tameyoshi had so many concubines that his children, boys and girls together, had reached the large number of twenty-two. One of his daughters was the wife of the Kumano no Betto, another had been sent to be brought up by the priest of Sumiyoshi Shrine, near Osaka, and they were all scattered here and there about the country. The day before Tameyoshi's death, Yoshikage, an officer of the government, had been ordered to go and arrest one of his sons, the Tada no Kurando Daiyu Yorinori, whose house was in Tominokoji, Ogi machi. Yorinori was caught in the house with four or five of his rebels, but they fought so recklessly to escape arrest that Yoshikage and his men had to retire with a loss of many killed and wounded. Meanwhile, Yorinori set fire to the house, and all his companions killed themselves under cover of the smoke. On this one day, the 29th, more than seventy members of the Genji and Heike clans, sad to say, had lost their heads.

Long before, in the reign of Saga Tenno, four high officials had committed a murder, but their punishment had been deferred for a long time. Again, in the reign of Ichijo-In, a Naidai-jin and a Chunagon had also killed a man, but tho' their crime was considered by those versed in the law to be punishable by death, the death-penalty had been reduced by one degree and they were sent into distant exile. In the present instance too, the death-penalty should not have been inflicted. It would have been better, it was said, since the period of mourning for

Toba no In had not yet expired, to mitigate the rebels' punishment. But the Shonagon Nyudo Shinzei privately advised the Emperor not to do so. He said that if all the many rebels were scattered about among the various distant provinces, they would become seeds of a further rebellion; that a ruler should always act in his own interests; and that if treason should break out again, the Emperor's present regret would have been in vain. It was on account of his having spoken in this way that so many of the rebels were executed.

The general opinion was that even if the death-penalty had been inflicted everywhere in the land, the sympathy with the rebels could not have been suppressed, and that it was cruel to kill so many people. It is certainly a fact that since the reign of the twenty-sixth Emperor, no one had been condemned to death for a period of three hundred and forty-seven years. Now, however, the sentence was pronounced without mercy.

Such a crime as the killing of his own father by Yoshitomo had never before been heard of. It was due partly to a grave error of the Emperor's and partly to Yoshitomo's culpable negligence of his plain duty. It was an act not only of disloyalty but of bad faith.

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Truly he had turned his back upon justice! The Emperor may have considered it an act of loyalty to himself, but he gave Yoshitomo no special reward for it, and shortly afterwards, Yoshitomo himself died an ignoble death.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCERNING THE EXECUTION OF YOSHITOMO'S YOUNGER BROTHERS.

VOLUME III.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING YOSHITOMO'S LOSS OF THE REST OF HIS
YOUNGER BROTHERS.

CHAPTER II.

TAMETOSHI'S WIFE KILLS HERSELF.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE INSPECTION OF THE SADAIJIN'S DEAD BODY.

On the 21st of the month, three officers of the Emperor's bodyguard and one government official went to Nara, and at the hour of the Horse (12 Noon), made an inspection of the Sadaijin's body for the purpose of identification. The three bodyguards were Suketoshi, Moromitsu, and Yoshimori. The other officer was the Sa-Shisho, Nakanara Moronobu. The place was the cremation ground in "The Field of Wisdom" at Kawakami village, Sonokami Gori, Yamato Province. The grave was a newly made one, three or four hundred feet to the West of the road that ran near the grave of the priest Jitsujo Tokugyo. When they dug the body up and looked at it, they found that though the bones had not yet fallen apart, and some of the flesh still remained, there was not enough to see what the original shape had been, and they could not positively identify it. They threw it, just as it was, by the side of the road, and went back to Kyoto.

The four sons of the Sadaijin, Kanenaga, Moronaga, Takana, and Norinaga, now announced to their grandfather, Fuke Dono Tadasane, that their father's body had been treated in such an outrageous way that they were ashamed to look other men in the face, and that in order to increase their chances of escape from the punishment of death, they proposed to enter

the priesthood. But the Fuke Dono dissuaded them from their purpose by saying that while there was life there was hope, and that they ought to live with the idea of some day returning to Court and thus carrying out their father's ambitions. So the grandsons, thinking they would be unfilial if they did not follow his advice, entirely gave up the idea of becoming priests.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING SHIGEHITO SHINNO AND THE REMOVAL OF SUTOKU'S PLACE OF RESIDENCE.

Now the Kurando Ushoben Sukenaga went to Ninwa-ji by the Emperor's command, and the next day, the 22nd, announced to Sutoku that he must remove his place of residence to Sanuki Province, in Shikoku. Sutoku had already been secretly informed that he would be sent out of the Capital, but had not expected it to happen so soon. However, the coming of this messenger decided matters, and he gave up hope and wrote the following poem :

Miyako ni wa
Ko-yoi bakari zo
Suminoe no
Kishi michi orinu
Ika de tsumi ni shi.

("To-night is the last night of my life in the Capital. Though I have gone down the bank of the Suminoe river (or, have shaved my head on the bank etc.) what heavy punishment is mine!" The Suminoe river is near the temple Ninwa-ji. The meaning is "I am given this heavy punishment in spite of the fact that I have entered the priesthood.")

Sutoku's eldest son, Shigehito Shinno, had been handed over to the priest Sojo Kwangyo of Kezo-in, with a hint that though the father was allowed to live, the son might be quietly disposed of. Shigehito's attendants were the Uemon no Jo Aki-mori and the Sahyoe no Daiyu Mitsushige. The priest refused

many times to receive the Prince, but finding it impossible to disobey the Emperor's commands, at last took him into the temple. The ladies-in-waiting who followed Shigehito wept over his becoming a priest, for during the long time when he had been Crown Prince, they had only been waiting for him to become Emperor, and now it disappointed them to have his head shaved. Kiyomori and Torimori ought never to have forsaken him, for Kiyomori's brother, the late Gyobukyo Tadamori Ason, had been the Prince's personal guard, but in spite of this, they had become estranged from him.

Early in the morning of the 23rd, while it was still dark, the officers brought Sutoku out of Ninwa-ji and put him in a carriage belonging to Mino no Zenji Yasunari Ason. The lower officers of Sado Shikibu Daiyu Shigenari brought up other carriages and put three ladies-in-waiting into the first, starting them off at the head of the line. But when they made Sutoku's carriage take a place behind the rest, at the end of the line, the women all began to cry out in protest. It had always been the custom, when he started on a journey, that after the Chief of Palace Attendants had brought out the Emperor's covered carriage, the nobles and other people of the Court came down into the court-yard, the servants were drawn up in two lines to right and left, and the chief guards and other officials proceeded before and behind the carriage. But the miserable lot of men in attendance here were only common soldiers, only a few of them wearing even helmets or armor; so the women were scandalized, and wept bitterly.

The day gradually dawned, and Sutoku, thinking he would like to pass by the palace of Toba-In, called Shigenari to him and asked if it would be proper to go to the grave of the dead Emperor, to pray and bid him a last farewell. Shigenari answered that it could easily be done, but if Sutoku exceeded the limit of time set by the Emperor, he was afraid he himself would be punished. Sutoku said ;

"It is natural that you should be anxious about it. Then let us turn aside and go towards Anrakuju-in."

But when they had turned the bulls and started toward the West, nothing was heard from the Ex-Emperor's carriage but the sound of sobbing and weeping, and even the rough fighting-men who were guarding him, out of pity for him, wet the sleeves of their armour with their tears. A short time afterwards, they passed the southern gate of Toba's palace. The Governor of the province, Suyeyuki Ason, with a small guard of men, was waiting with a boat for Sutoku at Kusatsu. Shigenari ought to have gone with Sutoku as far as Sanuki Province, but simply saying that he must leave him, went back to the Capital. Before he left, Sutoku said to him :

"You have been so kind to me up to this point that if you leave me here, I shall feel discouraged from now on. If Mitsuhiro Hosshi is still living, tell him what has happened and ask him to follow me. I must say again and again that I shall never forget your kindness."

It was a great honor for Shigenari to be spoken to in this way by the Ex-Emperor. It may or may not have been done by the Emperor's orders, but at any rate, when Sutoku entered the boat's cabin, the door was locked behind him from the outside. Among all the people who saw this done, from the poorest and weakest woman to the strongest warrior, there was not one who did not weep with pity for Sutoku.

They travelled rapidly, but as he ate nothing and could not sleep comfortably, the attendants feared they could not keep him alive till the end of the journey. He did not see the light of sun or moon, and all he heard was the sound of roaring winds and stormy waves. He knew he was passing places where other men before him had been banished, and the thought that the same fate had come to him made him still more sad.

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He arrived at last at Sanuki, but as the Governor had not

yet built him a house in which to live, he was put into a mansion, in a place called Matsuyama, which had been built by a man named Takato who had high, though unofficial, rank in the province. The name of the place may have given Sutoku the idea, but at any rate he was longing for the Capital and so wrote this poem :

Hama chidori
Ato wa Miyako ni
Kayoyedomo
Mi wa Matsuyama ni
Ne wo nomi zo naku.

(Literally, "The foot-prints of the sea-bird have gone to the Capital, but its body does nothing but cry in Matsuyama." Sutoku, during his exile, copied out the books of the Mahayana, and sent them to the Emperor, and the meaning of the poem is that his writing, which was like the foot-prints of sea-birds, had been sent to the Capital, but he himself was doing nothing but pray to the Gods at Matsuyama.)

A strange thing happened after Sutoku had been brought out of Ninwa-ji. Fully expecting, as they did, a battle between Kiyomori and Yoshitomo (though why this was expected is not explained in the book), the followers of the Genji and Heike clans began to run about in all directions, carrying red and white flags; red for the Genji and white for the Heike. The previous conflict having been decided with unexpected abruptness, the people were feeling easier and had brought back their hidden property to the city, but now for a certainty they felt there would be a revolution and were all in confusion again. When the Ministers of State and other noblemen, some in carriages and some on horses, hurried into the Palace grounds, the Emperor was astonished. He sent messages to both sides.

"If there is any question between you, you ought to report it to the Emperor and get his decision, but the rumor has come to his ears that you are both about to start fighting. What is the reason for this? Desist from your violence immediately."

Both sides answered that the rumor was only a groundless one.

On the same day, the Treasury-accountant Tomokane was ordered to examine the storehouses-for-documents, belonging to Sutoku, which had been built in the palace of Higashi-no-Toin, in Naka-no-Mikado district. He found a small box in one of the storehouses, and from the fact of its being sealed, he judged it was something very private. So he took it to the Palace just as it was. The Emperor himself opened it and found it contained the written account of a revelation in a dream. The account said it had been revealed again and again that Sutoku would re-ascend the throne, and that every time this revelation had been made, Sutoku had prayed for divine assistance. The tone of the whole writing was strange and mysterious, but now it had been made public, and the Emperor felt sure that Sutoku would regret having written it.

If Sutoku wished for examples in his attempt to regain the throne, he had those of the Emperors Saimei and Shotoku, Shujaku and Shirakawa, though the latter two had failed to accomplish their designs, and the idea may have become so firmly implanted in his mind through thinking of these cases that he continually thought of it, even in his dreams. Shujoku-In, urged on by his mother, abdicated in favor of his younger brother the "Tenryaku no Mikado," Murakami Tenno, but regretted his act and prayed in many shrines and temples to be allowed to become Emperor again. He even sent a nobleman as messenger to the Gods at Ise. Shirakawa.—In had the same ambition, and though he became a priest, he did not take a Buddhist name, probably because he kept in mind the example of the Kiyomibara Tenno, Temmu Tenno. Shirakawa was the first Emperor who actually administered the government from his own palace with the firm intention of regaining the throne. Governmental affairs had been carried on in a retired Emperor's palace after his abdication until the time of Go-Sanjo Tenno. It is on account of their having done this that people

now give Shirakawa and Toba as examples of Emperors who ruled after they were no longer Emperors.

It was like throwing away worn-out sandals. They had worn the old ones and ought to have been willing to give them up, but after resigning the throne to the new Emperors, they again wished to ascend it. When they found they could not succeed in this, they continued to administer the government in their own palaces in spite of their having retired—an act contrary to all reason and opposed to the usages of all rulers. It was because they had thus abandoned deliberations with their Privy Councils that disorder arose, and that people said such a war had never been seen before their time. The reigning Emperor and the retired Emperor were brothers, and so were the Kwampaku and Sadaijin. The two Commanders-in-Chief, Tameyoshi and Yoshitomo, were father and son. The real reason for the rebellion was that the wife of the late Emperor Toba had induced him to give the throne to Go-Shirakawa. If the Emperor Sutoku, when about to throw away his worn-out sandals, had thought the matter out more carefully while he was reigning, in whose favor would he have abdicated? No one's! He never would have abdicated at all.

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CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING BUEN KUN.

Once upon a time, there was a woman in the country of Sei, in China, whose name was Buen. Her skin was dark and she was ugly to look at. Her throat seemed to be tied in a knot, and the back of her neck was fat. She was hump-backed and pigeon-breasted. Her hair was more tangled than that of Touto's wife, and her dress more ragged than Toui's. Her nose was as flat as Setsu Atsu's, and her eyelids stood out like Kokyo's. Her chin was as sharp as Kempu's, and her eyes were as narrow as Gumoku's. For these reasons no one had

wanted to marry her and she had now reached the age of thirty. One memorable day, she made a visit to the palace of King Sen and said to him :

" I have come here with the hope of being counted among your concubines."

King Sen took her into an inner room and gave her wine and food. All the people who saw her covered their mouths with their hands and made signs to each other with their eyes. The King had not yet spoken a word, but the woman stared at him with open eyes, and beating her breast, said :

" How dangerous ! How dangerous ! "

" What are you saying ? " King Sen asked her. " I'd like to know what you mean.

The women answered :

" O great King, you are at present Lord of the World, but on the West you are worried by attacks from the country of Ei, and on the South you have powerful enemies in the country of Sou. Outside of your land, there are two countries which will bring you misfortune, and inside, you have many wicked officials. Already you have reigned for forty-seven years and have not yet raised your first son to the throne. Forgetting your successor, all you do is to gather women about you and act as best suits your own pleasure, putting aside those matters at which you ought to spend your time. If any one misfortune should come upon you, the welfare of your house could not be preserved. This is the first point.

" You have built a five-storied pagoda, and paved it with gold and inlaid it with precious stones. You have gathered to yourself the treasures of the whole country, and the people are utterly exhausted. This is the second point.

" Wise men have hidden themselves in the mountains and forests, corrupt officials are everywhere, only liars and bad-hearted men are advanced in favor, and you have no one to advise you. This is the third point.

" You are addicted to wine and women and are fascinated

from morning till night with your own selfish thoughts. Before your face, your nobles do not think of governing the country, and behind your back, you are not respected. This is the fourth point. How dangerous! How dangerous!"

King Sen, on hearing this, acknowledged that what the woman had said was quite true.

"I have certainly made a great mistake. The time is coming when I shall not be able to save myself."

He at once stopped work on the pagoda and broke it down, dismissed his flattering officers, called the wise men around him, drove away his singing-girls and stopped his debauchery, and finally chose his Crown Prince. He then made Buen Kun his queen, and the country immediately quieted down. He said that all this was due to the virtues of this ugly woman.

Now at the present time too, if the ruler does nothing but think about beautiful women, and if he puts love above everything else and has many houses full of concubines, any country will be ruined.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE BANISHMENT OF THE SADAJIN'S SON
AND OTHER REBELS.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING THE PRIME MINISTER'S PROPOSED VISIT
TO THE CAPITAL,

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING SUTOKU'S DEVOTION TO PRAYER, AND HIS DEATH.

Now a letter to the Governor of Sanuki from the Governor of Kyoto said that Sutoku would arrive at his place of exile on the 10th day of the eighth month. Sutoku lived at Matsuyama for a short time, but when a house that the Governor had built

in a place called Naoshima was finished, he was removed to that place. This house was surrounded by a mud wall with only one entrance, and except during the three times a day when they brought him his meals, there was no one with whom he could speak. Even if he had had people about him, it would have been hard for him, for he was unaccustomed to life in the country.

(Thus he became more and more lonely, until he felt that in the next world he would surely become a demon of homesickness).

At last three years passed by. During this time he had been copying out the five volumes of the part of the Mahayana doctrines called Daijokyo. He was distressed at not being able to deposit these writings of his in some holy place where the sound of temple bells could be heard. He thought these volumes should be placed in some great temple like Yawata Yama or Koya San, but if the Emperor would not allow this, he wanted to have them left in Toba's tomb in Anrakuju-in. In the Spring of the first year of Heiji (1159) he sent this message to Go-no-Miya, and Go-no-Miya sent it on to the Kwampaku. The Kwampaku tried in many ways to get the request granted, but the Emperor refused it, and the volumes were quickly returned to Sutoku. Word came with them from Go-no-Miya that although the books had been written by Sutoku's own hand, the Emperor was so angry with him that none of his hand-writing even could be left anywhere near the Capital, and that Go-no-Miya was unable to do anything more in the way of influencing the Emperor.

How disappointed the Ex-Emperor must have been on hearing this message! He said to one of his attendants:

"Our Court is not the only one in which such revolts have taken place. In India and in China too nephews have rebelled against uncles and brothers have fought with brothers

to overthrow the ruler and take possession of the country. I wrote these sacred books for the purpose of showing my repentance for what I have done and regret for my mistaken designs, but if even my hand-writing is not to be allowed within the Capital and nothing more can be accomplished toward that end, I shall use the books as prayers for the benefit of evil spirits and appease my resentment by myself becoming a demon ! ”

When this speech of Sutoku's was reported in the Capital, an officer named Yasuyori was sent down to find out the state of affairs in Naoshima, but before he arrived, Sutoku wrapped the volumes in a yellow robe darkened with smoke, and that again in a long head-cloth, and threw them into the sea at a place a thousand fathoms deep. In one of them he had written a curse with his own blood. After this he allowed himself to get in such a dreadful state that he no longer cut his nails or trimmed his hair, but neglected his appearance and constantly let his thoughts dwell upon evil projects, and after nine years had passed in this way, he died in a place called Shido, on the 5th of September, 1164, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

Thus this man who had been an Emperor had taken on of his own accord the appearance of a *Tengu* while he was still living, and it is, probably, simply because he did this that within the last three years, Yoshitomo, after consulting with Nobuyori, had garrisoned his own palace, burned the Sanjo Palace, put two Emperors in confinement, killed all of Shinzei's family, and after digging Shinzei's body from the ground where he had buried himself, had paraded his head around through the principal streets of the Capital. But the beginning of Sutoku's madness was the act of Go-Shirakawa in inflicting the death-penalty on the Sadaijin, a penalty that had not been in use for a very long time, and in dishonoring his dead body.

On the 12th of September, 1158, the throne was given to the Haru-no-Miya, Togu. He was called "Nijo-In" because he lived in the Nijo Palace. One of the two Emperors whom

we mentioned as having been put in confinement was Go-Shirakawa. Nobuyori was killed immediately, and Yoshitomo, after his defeat by the Heike, had tried to escape, but was killed in Owari Province by one of his own hereditary servants named Nagata no Shoshi Tadamine. All of his children were either banished or executed.

This rebellion had occurred during the lifetime of Sanuki no-In (Sutoku), and people said the cause of it had been the very apparent enmity of Sutoku for the Emperor. In the Winter of 1169, the priest Saigyô while practicing his austerities through the different provinces, visited Sutoku's tomb at Shiramine. He gazed attentively at the tomb, and recalling the many things that had happened in former times, wrote the following poem :

Yoshi-ya Kimi
Mukashi no tama, no
Toko tote mo
Kakaran nochi wa
Nani ni kawasen.

(I say, my lord ! though in the old days you sat on the "Jeweled Throne," now that you have come to this, what can you do ?)

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING THE CAPTURE AND BANISHMENT OF TAMETOMO.

Now an Imperial Edict having been issued that any one who captured Hachiro Tametomo would receive an extraordinary reward, Hachiro had hidden himself in a place called Wada, in Omi Province. He dressed one of his servants like a priest and had him spend his time in begging for food, while he himself made ready to go down to Kyushu. But a Heike

fighting-man, named Chikugo no Kami Iyesada, came up from that direction with many men, and Tametomo had to hide deep in the mountains during the day, only coming to the villages at night to get his food. Being only a man after all, he sometimes became ill and generally cured himself by applying a cautery, but on one occasion, during a severe attack of inflammation of the bowels, he rented an old bath-house and took frequent sitz-baths. Meanwhile, one of the Emperor's officers, Sado no Hyoye Shigesada, was searching the country-side for him, when a certain man said to the officer :

"There has been a suspicious looking character of late in this bath-house. He is a big, fierce looking fellow, but he apparently comes from the Capital. He is about twenty years old and has a scar on his forehead, and he seems to me to be always hiding from people."

So, on the 2nd day of the ninth month, when Tametomo came down from the mountains to the bath-house, he was attacked by more than thirty horsemen. Tametomo, stark naked out of the bath, knocked many of them down with a carrying pole, but at last, surrounded as he was by a crowd of men, he was captured in this cowardly way. The horsemen handed him over to the Hangwan Suezane, and he took him to the western part of Nijo district in Kyoto. He put on him a pair of thin, white-silk trousers and a Summer coat made of hemp, and fastened a white-wood comb to the base of his queue, to show that he was going to behead him. Tametomo was inspected by the Emperor in the Northern Camp. The nobles and palace-attendants were present of course, but even the common people who came to look at him made as big a crowd as if it were a market-day. The scar on his face was said to have been made by Masakiyo on the day of the battle. He ought really to have been executed long before this time, but as being in the battle had forced him into acting in the way he had, and as the time given for his capture had already expired, the Emperor now pretended that he had not yet seen him. It would, moreover, be difficult

to get such a great and useful warrior in the future, and so they decided, after much consultation, to spare his life for a time and punish him with distant banishment. But, thinking that if he had all his powers he might commit some great crime later on, they dislocated his arm, and then sent him into exile at Oshima in Izu Province. His shoulder healed in something over fifty days, and though, ever after, it was a little weak, still he was able to draw an arrow two spans longer than before, and the arrow's power of penetration was no less than it had been.

After he had been in Oshima for some time, Tametomo used to say :

"I am a descendant of Seiwa Tenno and a grandson of Hachiman Taro. How could I disregard my ancestry? This island is my own territory given me by the Government."

He not only took over the government of Oshima, but subjugated the whole of the five islands near it. This territory was owned by an inhabitant of Izu named Kari no Nosuke Mochimitsu, but he, instead of collecting the taxes himself, had become the son-in-law of the Governor of the island, a man named Saburo Daiyu Tadashige, and let him do the work. Tametomo let him continue collecting them. Mochimitsu, not receiving the taxes any longer, became angry at not being treated like the nobleman and son-in-law that he was. So Tadashige sent him the taxes, but tried to keep it secret from Tametomo. Tametomo heard of this and sent for the father-in-law Tadashige. He told him this was a strange way of acting, and thinking he would always be dangerous if left a warrior, he cut off three of the fingers from each of his hands. He also took away his bows and arrows and burned them, and then deprived all the people of all the islands, except his own servants, of their bows and arrows. His old soldiers had followed him to the island, and thus he spent ten years there gradually increasing his power over it.

CHAPTER X.

CONCERNING TAMETOMO'S VOYAGE TO ONIGASHIMA AND
HIS LAST DAYS,

Now in April, 1165, one day when Tametomo had gone to the seashore to amuse himself, he saw two herons, one green and one white, flying one after the other out to sea. He thought to himself, "I have never heard that even an eagle could fly a thousand miles in one flight, and surely a heron can not fly more than four or five. From the way these birds are flying I should think there was an island near by." He at once got some men into a swift boat and followed after the herons. The sun set, the night came on, and they rowed the boat by the light of the moon. When day dawned, they were already within sight of an island. They rowed toward it, but the shore was rugged, the waves were high, the rocks were dangerous, and there was no way to get the boat ashore. The poled the boat around the island to look for a place to land, and found a small brook running down from the North-West. When they had safely pushed the boat up the brook, a lot of young men appeared. Their hair was ten feet long and more, and was roughly piled up on top of their heads. Their bodies too were covered with dark hair, like a bull, and they carried swords at their right sides. They were more frightful to look at than can be described. Tametomo could not understand the language they used and had to communicate with them by guesswork. They said that as the Japanese did not know there was an island in this place, he could not have come intentionally and must have been blown there by the wind. None of the people who had previously been blown to this island by unfavourable winds had ever gone back alive. The shore was rough, and boats that had drifted there had always been broken up by the waves. As there were no boats on the island, there was no way of getting back, and as there was no food for them, the men

had soon died. The young men added that as he had a boat, he had better quickly go back to his own country before his food was finished.

His servants all felt that their expected pleasure had been spoiled, but Tametomo was not at all disturbed. He gave orders that the boat should be dragged far up on the land so that it should not be broken to pieces by the waves, and then walked around the island to look at it. He found that no fruit, silk, or cotton was grown; in fact, there were no fields of any kind. He asked them what food they lived on, and they answered they lived on fish and birds. As he could see no nets or fishing-boats, and as they did not use limed twigs or cords, he asked how they caught the fish and birds. They answered they were very fortunate in this regard. They picked up the fish that were thrown on the shore by the waves, and as for the birds, each man dug a cave and got inside of it; then he hid himself and called the birds by imitating their cries. The birds followed these cries and flew into the cave in great numbers, and the men, after shutting the mouths of the caves, caught the birds in the dark. As he would presently see, there were many of these caves for catching birds. The birds, some of which Tametomo saw, looked like "brown-eared bulbúts." With a couple of his whistling arrows he shot one of them that was on a tree and another that was flying in the air. When the island people saw him do this, their teeth chattered with fear, and when he told them he would shoot them in the same way if they did not obey him, they threw themselves flat on the ground and submitted to him.

The clothes they wore were like a thick net made of hemp. Each man brought out a lot of this hemp and piled it in front of Tametomo. He asked them the name of the island, and they answered it was Onigashima (Devil Island).

"Are you descendants of devils?"

"Yes, we are."

"Then if you have the treasure that I've heard all devils have, bring it out. I'll look at it."

"In ancient days, when our ancestors were really devils and gods, we were possessed of such treasures as cloaks and hats of invisibility, shoes with which we could walk on water, and swords. At that time we had no boats, but we could pass over to other countries and we used to capture the people of Nisshoku for living sacrifices to our gods. But now, our luck is ended, our treasures are gone, our shape has changed to that of men, and we can not go to other countries."

Thinking he had better change the name of the island, Tametomo called it "Reed Island," because there were many thick reeds on it. Altogether, he took seven islands, including this one, as his personal estate. He made them subordinate to Hachijo-jima and ordered the yearly taxes sent him there. When the islanders said they were sorry they could not send them because they had no boat, he promised to send them a boat once a year. He took back with him one of their young men as proof that he had been there.

He had acted so roughly with the people of Oshima that they had been happy in thinking the eight demons of the storm had taken him, and now they were sorry when he came back just as rough as he had been before and bringing a young devil with him besides. For this reason they were even more afraid of him that they had been before. He happened to send this young man with a message to the Governor of Idzu, and the Japanese there too were in a great fright. They said that Tametomo had been to Devil Island, had brought back one of the devils and had made him his servant, and this devil would devour all the people. They also said that Tametomo's haughtiness would be much increased, and there was no knowing what rebellions he might start.

An officer, Kano no Suke, on hearing the people's talk, went up to the Capital in 1170 and informed the Emperor Takakura no-In of it. He said that Tametomo had oppressed

all the people, but that in particular he had taken the whole of Mochimitsu's territory and had even gone over to Devil Island and made one of the devils his slave. Go-Shirakawa was surprised at this and gave orders to collect soldiers from Kyoto, as well as from Musashi and Sagami, for an expedition against Tametomo. Mochimitsu was the leader of a force of over five hundred horse and twenty war-vessels against Oshima.

They attacked Tametomo's Oshima mansion during the last ten days of the fourth month of the second year of Kao (April 1170). Tametomo suddenly heard the sound of boats approaching from the offing, and told a servant to go and see what boats they were. The man returned and said they were probably merchant-ships; there were so many of them that they made a very long line on the sea. Tametomo disagreed with him. He thought they were boats coming to attack him. He was right. They were the war-vessels.

"Well," he said to his soldiers "they are certainly in great force. But suppose for a moment they were ten thousand horsemen and we intended to destroy them and then retreat. If we fought like the very devil, we might drive them off for a time, but it would be a pity to distress the people with the loss of so many soldiers, and what good would it do me in the end to break the Emperor's commands? In the Hogen era, by the Emperor's order, I became a banished man, but for the last ten years or more, I have really enjoyed life as master of this place. Before this, I was ruler of the nine provinces of Kyushu, and am not without that memory too as a consolation. First Kikuchi and Harada in Tsukushi, and then all the people of the Western Provinces acknowledged my power. In the Capital, the soldiers of both the Genji and the Heike clans, especially those from Musashi and Sagami, recognized the strength of my bow. Other men might cover their heads with helmets and arm themselves with quivers of arrows, but they were not of much account opposed to me. I have never yet seen the man who could compete with me in archery. Now that a gene-

ral has come here from the Capital, I suppose he's some treacherous Heike man or other. I intended at first to kill them all and sink them in the sea, but how can I commit such a useless sin when, do what I may, I myself shall be killed in the end? The reason why I have wished to keep my life until now has been that I thought if a revolution took place, I might accomplish my father's wishes and also fulfil my own hopes.

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But now it is on account of my former wickedness that this present evil has come upon me and that I shall be punished for my present sins in a future life. I shall therefore repent me of all my sins and say my prayers, begging only to become a true Buddha. Now you must all escape. Do not leave a single soldier behind you."

He offered up all his weapons to the God of the Storm, and after giving a keepsake to each of the soldiers, called Tameyori to him, his nine year old son who had been born on the island, and trust a sword through him. The mother on seeing this, caught up in her arms the five year old boy and the two year old girl and ran away with them. Now there was nothing more for Tametomo to do but to shoot one arrow and then disembowel himself. But while he was thinking regretfully to himself what little harm his last arrow would do, a ship in which were about three hundred men, some of them looking shoreward and shading their eyes with their sleeves, reached a spot about a thousand feet from the beach. Tametomo thought it somewhat out of range, but putting a great, humming arrow to his bow, he drew it to its very fullest extent and sent it whistling off. The arrow struck the boat about six inches above the water-line and tore through both its sides. The water poured in at both the holes, and the boat sank in the waves. Those of the soldiers who were accustomed to the water saved their lives by floating on single shields or on two shields fastened together, or by clinging to oars, paddles, or the ends of bows

stretched out to them from the other boats. But many drowned. On seeing this Tametomo said :

"In the old days of Hogen, I used to kill two soldiers with one arrow, but now in Kao, with one arrow I have killed many men."

He then repeated the prayer "*Namu Amida Butsu.*" Now, he had nothing more to think of, and entering his house, he stood with his back against a pillar and ripped his stomach open.

After this sinking of the ship, the boatmen rowed the other ships out to sea again, saying to each other that they had known what would happen ; this was not the first time Hachiro had shown the power of his bow.

"But what shall we do now ?"

"We had better take off our armor and cover the sides of the boats with it."

It took them some time to make these and other preparations, but as no enemy appeared against them, they again rowed the ships apprehensively toward the shore. Still one appeared to attack them, but fearing this was a stratagem to lure them on to the land, they did not approach carelessly, but pushed their horses overboard when the water was shallow enough to get a footing, then mounted and made the horses run ashore by shouting at them. Still no one came out to oppose them, but from their manner they seemed to feel that the enemy's swords were the hugest of the huge, and to be watching for that enemy's approach with fear and trembling. Although before their arrival, some of them had promised to be the first to attack and kill Tametomo, now, there was not a man to go forward. This was not really cowardice on the soldiers' part ; it was only the ordinary fear that every one had of Tametomo, and this fear, which even unusually brave soldiers always had, now kept them from advancing. All they could do was to surround the outskirts of the place. It was probably at this moment that one of them, a man named Katoji Kagekado, discovered that Tametomo

had killed himself, for he crept up behind him with a long sword in his hand and cut his head off. On account of his having done this, his name is always written first among the names that have become celebrated for this day's battle. When the head was sent to the Capital in the fifth month, Go-Shirakawa himself went in his carriage to inspect it at Nijo Kyogoku, and all the people, noble and common, priests and laymen, crowded together to see it.

This man Tametomo went to Tsukushi when he was thirteen years old. Within three years he had conquered the whole of the nine provinces. Six years afterwards, when he was eighteen, he went to the Capital for the first time, and made a name for himself at the battle in the Hogen era. When he was twenty-nine, he crossed the sea to Onigashima and made a slave of one of the devils. The whole of Japan feared him, but he was punished by the Emperor and ended his life in failure. At the age of thirty-three, his name was known to the whole Empire. People say that from the most ancient times to the present day there has never been a man of such physical courage as Chinzei Hachiro Tametomo.

THE END.



THE
LIFE OF SHOIN YOSHIDA

BY
HORACE E. COLEMAN,

being a translation from the Japanese

LIFE OF SHOIN YOSHIDA,

BY
MR. IICHIRO TOKUTOMI,

Editor of the "*Kokumin Shimbun*," Tokyo.

EXTRACTS OF WHICH WERE READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY

February 25th, 1914.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SHŌIN'S TIME.

First year of Tempō, 1830, on the fourth of August, Shōin Yoshida was born.

Sixth year of Tempō, 1835, he became heir of Daisuke Yoshida. The Yoshida family were serving Lord Mori by conducting a Military School founded on the teachings of Sokō Yamaga.

Eighth year of Tempō, 1837, Ienari retired from the Shogunate and Ieyoshi succeeded him.

Ninth year of Tempō, 1838, Shōin, at the age of nine, began a normal course of instruction in the home school, and studied in the Clan school, Mei Rin Kan.

Tenth year of Tempō, 1839, at the age of ten, in November, Shōin began teaching in Mei Rin Kan.

Eleventh year of Tempō, 1840, at the age of eleven, Shōin lectured before the Clan Lord Mori on a certain military book.

First year of Kōkwa, 1844, at the age of fifteen, Shōin lectured before the Clan Lord Mori on "Emptiness and Reality," by Sonshi, and received for this a commentary on "Shichi Sho" (Seven Books).

Yamada Uemon returned from Yedo and explained the tendency of the times which greatly stimulated Shōin, and his determination to do something for his country then became very strong.

Second year of Kōkwa, 1845 at the age of sixteen, Shōin studied the military method of Matasuke Yamada.

Third year of Kōkwa, 1846, at the age of seventeen, Shōin received a diploma of the Naganuma style of military science, from Matasuke Yamada.

The United States war ships came to Uraga and presented credentials from the United States. English ships also appeared several times in the South.

First year of Kaei, 1848, at the age of nineteen, Shōin and his pupils were called to the Clan castle, and Lord Mori inspected their military practice.

Second year of Kaei, 1849, at the age of 20, in March, Shōin wrote about war preparations on land and sea.

In July, at the command of Lord Mori, he went to inspect the coasts of Otsu, Toyama, Akamagaseki, (Shimonoseki).

Third year of Kaei, 1850, at the age of 21, Shōin lectured before Lord Mori on the "Determination of a General in a Besieged Castle," the subject of a chapter on castle defence in "Bukyo Zen Sho" (Complete Book on Military Tactics), and the Lord was much impressed. On the 25th of August he started on a trip to Kyūshū, and returned on the 29th of December. On this trip he received a great stimulus for his whole life.

Fourth year of Kaei, 1851, when Shōin was 22, Lord Mori completed the Yamaga military course under him.

In March he started out to accompany Lord Mori to Yedo. Soon after arriving there, he met Shōzan Sakuma and became his pupil.

In December he started on his trip North for which he was deprived of his Samurai title.

Fifth year of Kaei. 1852, at the age of 22, Shōin returned to Yedo in April from his trip North. In May he returned to Hagi and patiently awaited the command of his Lord. As a punishment, in December, his samurai title was taken away from him, and he was also deprived of his hereditary income.

Sixth year of Kaei, 1853, age 24. He received permission for ten years study and came to Yedo by the Nakasendo, (Middle route via Nagoya and Karuizawa) and on the way observed much and visited many great men.

On the third of June Commander Perry came to Uraga with four vessels, seeking friendly intercourse and

the opening of trade relations, In July the forts in Shinagawa Bay were completed.

With the help of Sakuma he determined to go aboard the Russian war vessel in Nagasaki harbor. Visiting his uncle at the Temple in Kamakura, he left Yedo on the 18th of September, and passing Kyōto, came to Kumamoto. There he met Shōnan Yokoi and was much influenced by him. On the 27th of October he arrived in Nagasaki, but the Russian war vessel had already departed.

Accompanied by Miyabe and others he returned to Hagi. On the 4th of December he started to Kyōto, and visiting many great men on the way returned to Yedo again on the 27th of December.

First year of Ansei, 1854, Age 25. Perry came again to Haneda with four war vessels and three steamers, and afterwards went back to Shimoda.

On the fifth of March Shōin, with his friend Kaneko, left Yedo, and followed the vessels to Shimoda.

On the night of the 27th of March he went on board the United States vessels but failed in his purpose to go abroad for study.

On the next day he gave himself up to the police and was arrested.

On the 15th of April he was taken to Yedo, and Sakuma, because of his implication in Shōin's plan, was also arrested and imprisoned.

In March the treaty of Kanagawa was completed.

On the 18th of September, Shōin's crime being determined, he and Kaneko were given over to their Clan Lord.

On the 24th of October he was put in the Nayama prison of his native country, Nagato, or Chōshū.

Second year of Ansei, 1855, Age 26. Kaneko died in prison.

On the 15th of December Shōin was released from the Nayama prison and confined in his own house.

Third year of Ansei, 1856, Age 27. In July he received per-

mission to teach, and opened a school in his own house in Matsushita village.

Townsend Harris came to Shimoda, as Consul General for the U. S. Foreign guns were placed at all the gates in Yedo.

Fourth year of Ansei, 1857, Age 28. He added a room to his school and his pupils increased in number day by day.

In October Townsend Harris came to Yedo and interviewed the Shōgun and explained the necessity of opening the country to trade. The Shōgun informed 300 Daimyo (Lords of the Provinces) of the necessity of opening ports and asked their opinions.

Fifth Year of Ansei, 1858, Age 29. Shoin's reverence for the Emperor and his patriotism grew deeper, and his discussion and writing increased more and more.

In November he and his pupils in the Matsushita School made an alliance in blood. In the same month the plan to kill Nobukatsu Mabe failed.

On the 29th of December he was again strictly confined in his own house because of his violent attitude toward the Shogunate.

On the 5th of December he was commanded to be imprisoned.

Sixth year of Ansei, 1859, Age 30. On the 25th of May he started as a prisoner from Hagi to Yedo.

In July he was put in the Tenma Cho prison in Yedo.

In August Rekkō Mito was confined in his home for life. In this same month Yoshiatsu Mito was prevented from entering Yedo. On the 28th of August many people were imprisoned and killed.

On the 7th of October Sanae Hashimoto (a fellow prisoner) was killed after long imprisonment.

On 20th of October Shōin wrote a final farewell to his family.

On the 25th and 26th he wrote the "Record of a Halted Spirit."

On the 27th of October he was beheaded.

After his execution, Marquis Kidō and Prince Itō (Hakubun) took his corpse and buried it at Ekoin Temple of Honegahara.

In January of the third year of Bunkyu, 1862, Prince Itō and Viscount Shinagawa removed it to Wakabayashi, Sendagaya mura, Ebara Country, Tōkyō Prefecture.

In November of the 15th year of Meiji, 1883, a shrine dedicated to Shōin, was built near his grave, and the Emperor, on hearing of this, gave some money and other presents.

On the tenth of February, Meiji 22, 1890, the posthumous order of senior fourth rank was bestowed on him.

On the 18th of October, Meiji 41, 1909, just fifty years after his death, his Clan Lord and his pupils and and former friends held a memorial festival in his honor.



SHOIN YOSHIDA. 吉田松陰

By MR. H. E. COLEMAN.

Who was Yoshida Shōin ?

One taking a walk to the Tama River will pass the village of Sedagaya. Going along the Aoyama road, a little more than two and one half miles west of the Imperial Palace, in and out, and up and down, among the low hills, green fields and woods, one hears here and there the barking of dogs and the crowing of cocks. Turning off the main road a few hundred paces, one comes suddenly upon a small thatch roofed shrine. Ah! this is the place where the spirit of Yoshida Shōin is enshrined.

Behind the shrine the small cryptomeria trees like spears, point gravely toward heaven. Passing through the cemetery we see a number of small monuments arranged in an orderly manner. There, as the head of the spirit world, he lies, peacefully sleeping among the tombs of many who possessed like minds and who endured the same sufferings. A few stumps of green pines, near by some cherry trees, watch the gate of the cemetery. A lone granite torii, carved with the words, "Oe Takanobu, the year of the Restoration of the Emperor's power 玉政 2" stands forever telling forth the rhymeless mournful song.

Shōin, who sixty years ago was the principal figure in the great movement toward the Restoration, now lies here, having become a quiet spirit (Shizukana kami to nari). Here from year to year, in this quiet place, seldom visited by any one, is heard the song of the mournful pine, as it sings in unison with the snow-like cherry, in commemoration of this brave son of Japan. The sorrowful voices of insects are heard in the light of the full moon as it passes from field to field in the great plain of Musashi. We wish to ask of his undying spirit: 'Where are

you now?' Let us arouse him from beneath the nine fields and let me speak concerning him.

Yoshida Shōin was in the line of vassals of the Mori family, one of whom was a general in the western army which protected Osaka against the Tokugawa forces in the battle of Sekigahara. His father's name was Sugi but he was adopted by his uncle Yoshida and succeeded to his name. He had an income of 57 koku of rice, and was thus from the beginning a samurai of very small income. He was born in the 8th month of the first year of Tempō (1830), in the eastern part of Hagi, in the province of Nagato. In the 10th month of the 6th year of Ansei (1859) he was beheaded in Yedo as a political criminal. It was a brief space of thirty years and the time which he worked for society, (from the 4th year of Kaei (1851) when as a follower of his lord he came to Yedo) was only 7 or 8 years. His public life was a short life indeed. Is there anything worth while to tell concerning him? Yes, indeed.

He had many plans but he did not get the opportunity to put these into practice. His history was a strenuous history, his age was an age full of suffering. But the thing to which we must give special attention is, that he was the real forerunner of the Restoration. If we are going to speak of the Restoration, we must necessarily speak of Yoshida Shōin. Just as a mother may die in giving birth to her child, but the child live and grow to manhood, so we may say he was the mother, and the child the Restoration.

KATEI NO KO. *The Child of the Home.*

"Yamato is located on the lower western extremity of the main island of Japan, in the shadow of the Hagi Mountain range bordering the Korean Strait. In this country, damp and dark, the sea behind and the mountains in front, to the east of the castle, stands my village, Matsushita. On the south, Matsushita village is bounded by the Ō River, the source of which has not yet been well explored. This is the place where the

Taira family went into retirement. The greater of the two mountains in the section north and east of here is called Chinese Mountain, (Tojin yama). This is the place where the Korean captives were quartered. The smaller of the two is called Nagazoe Mountain. Here are the ruins of the Matsukuraiga Castle. Between the mountains and the river are about 1000 houses, in which live samurai and farmers, artisans and merchantmen." This is the picture of his own village as Yoshida himself described it. It is certain that he was born on the 4th day of the 8th month of the first year of Tempo (1830) in the village of Matsushita, at the southern foot of the Gokoku (guarding country) mountain, just east of Hagi Castle.

His father, Yurinosuke Sugi, was a pious man, and had been a most faithful and upright official. His mother of the Kodama family, being very wise, was an ideal woman; faithful to her mother-in-law, generous and thrifty; faithful in the work of the house and regularly taught her children. She could even take care of the horses when necessary. The following description is given of her,—a thick chin, narrow eyes, a kindly manner so free and open as not to be concealed,—chaste.

The mother's brother, O Chō Chikuin, the head priest 方丈 of the Zuizen Temple 瑞泉寺 of Kamakura was one of the first class of the Engaku Temple school. In learning he was much above the average priest. The middle brother of his father, Daisuke Yoshida, was the adopted father of Shōin. He was an upright man and early in life had a great ambition. He carefully studied the Chinese classics and wished to establish his reputation as a scholar. He became ill, however, and knowing that he would never recover, he refused all medical aid and composedly and calmly awaited the end, which came at the age of 29. His uncle, Bunnoshin Tamaki, known for his integrity and uprightness, had a great knowledge of administration. He was Shōin's teacher in his youth. In the 9th year of Meiji, (1876), a party of his pupils took part in the Maebara Issei rebellion, and many were killed and wounded. Lamenting

this, he said it was because of the imperfection of his ordinary teaching. So, saying—"How can I face my father and elder brother? How can I teach my pupils?" he committed suicide before his ancestors' tomb, at the age of 67.

The home of Shōin was marked by harmony and friendship, diligence and sincere loyalty. His uncle, like his father, on returning from his public duties, at once went to work in the field. When Shōin was young, taking his book, he would read on the dykes, and when he could not understand, would at once ask an explanation from his father or uncle. His determination for reverencing the Emperor and protecting the country was especially due to that ancestral teacher of the family, Soko Yamaga. While young, he would make a model of the Imperial Palace with mud, saying that he was imitating the repairing of the desolated Imperial Court by Oda Nobunaga. When he was being escorted to Yedo to be punished, he composed a poem expressing his thoughts as follows.

"In general running about

I have broken your admonition,

I alone know my deeds,

This will console my father.

There remains in my ears

The Imperial rescript of the tenth year of Bunsei.

A verse about Japan ripens in my mouth.

While young I made the determination to reverence my Emperor and expel the foreigners.

The remaining kindnesses will fall to my brothers.

Soon in the Eastern sky the strange clouds (of misunderstanding) will be swept away."

That one verse on Japan is found in the first chapter of the "History of Japan" by Mr. Tamada, and is as follows;

"Great Japan, Toyoakitsushima, is the country of the Gods." The reason why we call it the country of the Gods is that God appeared in the first opening of the country.

The Imperial Rescript of the 10th year of Bunsei, addressed to Ienari, the eleventh Shogun, is as follows :—

“ If you do not praise virtuous acts, there will be no way of encouraging virtue. If you do not accord rewards for meritorious deeds, the custom of rewarding military services will cease to exist. You, Minamoto-no-Ason, the Seii-Taishogun,— it is your military power and civil administration that have combined to keep peace and order all over Japan. You have long fulfilled your duties as Generalissimo and my great adviser, with the result that the people at large enjoy perfect tranquility, and no foreign barbarians can venture to invade our country. In consequence my Imperial Household is secure and peace reigns throughout the realm. You have recently caused new Imperial palaces to be built which are as splendid as those in ancient times ; you have established a variety of institutions, and have restored some religious rites which had ceased to exist. Your virtue is boundless, and your achievements splendid. You have already occupied the highest military position, but you have not yet been honored with the dignity in the civil service. I now appoint you Prime Minister, and grant you a Left and a Right Life-guard and four attendants. I have caused your grand achievements and promotion to be declared throughout the empire.”

When the Imperial Rescript was issued, Ienari, the eleventh Shogun and his father received it while at home, but did not go to the Imperial Court to give their thanks. Shōin's father, taking a bath and changing his clothes, from a distance worshipped the Emperor. Weeping he said “ O ! the decline of the Imperial House, and the presumption of the military vassals ! Has it come to this ? ”

Shōin was brought up in this kind of atmosphere. By this we can understand the general trend of his home education. In his home in the midst of Matsushita village, the playmates of his childhood were his brothers and sisters only. He was indeed brought up in the vigorous atmosphere of a congenial home.

The overflowing feeling of friendship and love which he originally showed toward father and mother and brothers and sisters was due not only to his inborn nature. He was indeed a son of the house of Sugi. His public spirit which sacrificed itself so bravely, his reverence for the Emperor, and his determination to protect the country, his exceedingly true spirit which would not deceive itself, all these, we can not doubt, were the result of the home influences which were covered up in the old house in that rough looking village.

TOKUGAWA SEIDO. *The Tokugawa System of Government.*

Shōin was a child of the times. The great spirit (atmosphere) which was then brewing and fermenting in Japan produced other great characters like his, and they also accomplished great things. I must make a summarized observation of those times, but first I feel the need of giving the historical sources in particular.

Man does not live to see his hundredth birthday, and the life of society is not so long as a thousand years. So, as we might have expected, even the feudal Tokugawa regime, whose social rule was most extraordinary (god and devil-like) was not able to live beyond a certain time.

Two hundred years of peace were the gift of the Tokugawa feudal government, but on account of this peace it was doomed to fall. Productive progress and an age of wars do not go together; a peaceful country does not stand with a system of military equipment. To-day it is the adjustment of military preparations that has brought the peace which cannot exist with military preparations. But what has peace brought? Peace is the messenger of riches; riches have made progress,—have made great progress. But those riches have come to others than the feudal samurai. Peace does not cause the production of riches only, it brings also the pleasures of riches. The society, founded on the feudal samurai as the centre, when it faced this new

situation, could not help being turned aside from their central principle. There was no other way, but for the samurai to pass the time looking at the riches of others. Their income, being hereditary, remained the same, while the standard of living in society made very rapid progress, so there was no way for them but to go into debt. There is no enemy that can stand against debt. Even a lord of a country and of a castle, producing more than a 100,000 koku must often bow before and ask mercy of the Osaka merchants. What a pitiful thing! It was even harder for those who followed the lord, so you may know that the extreme condition of the samurai class was unavoidable under the condition of the times. Behold! At the fall of the Tokugawa regime, was not the debt that the shogunate samurai owed the treasury department, yen 10,000,000? The progress of riches meant the extreme distress of the samurai; that extreme distress meant going into debt, and debt to the samurai meant the loss of his influence in society. Moreover the samurai in the age of peace was only like a ship captain on a mountain top, he was like a fireman when there are no fires, like a block of ice in the midst of winter, or like a padded garment in the midst of summer. They not only proved their uselessness but showed signs of their lack of power. In one way or another they were nothing but the laughing stock of society. While walking proudly on the highway they sang with an arrogant air "We do not carry our scabbards simply for show." We know that the intuitive instinct of society, looking on with disdain understood that they were useless fellows. Furthermore the 200 years of peace had made them as effeminate as a princess, and the only sign of their manhood was their beards. In short, giving up their samurai drill, they kept only the outside appearance. Throwing away their samurai strength, they held to the name only. The complete feudal system brought about peace, but peace, in return, caused the downfall of that same feudal regime.

The one hygienic law in a peaceful society is to give free-

dom of competition to every one, But the feudal society being hereditary could not stand with free competition. Think of it! In the beginning of the feudal system a Daimyo with an income of 100,000 koku had the strength of 100,000 koku; the samurai with a support of 1000 koku had the strength of 1000 koku. There is no question that real strength and social position were in general the same. In short we cannot help speaking of the indisputable fact that it was the working of comparative democratic principles. Nevertheless among the sons of a hero we rarely find a hero, we do not look for brave generals among the sons of brave generals. Great loyalty is synonymous with the Mikawabushi who never turned their back to the enemy, but this is not the case with the descendants of the Mikawabushi.

Men change with the times; with men social position often goes contrary to real talent, and at last they come to be entirely reversed. Now the feudal system which was upheld by its military power and which prohibited free competition—the one law of peaceful society—how could it keep its life for more than two hundred years in a peaceful age which was unprofitable to it? Among the most important reasons for this we must count the following; the buying and selling of favors (or offerings to Daimyos and Shoguns), the system of adoption, and the abominable and hateful bribe.

The influence of riches promoted deeds of exploits in war, and the income of the feudal samurai was in commemoration of his deeds. To the end of the age it was a kind of stock exchange to the extent of buying and selling, very much like the buying and selling of securities to-day. Especially in the case of offerings to the Shogun, there developed the system of rewarding according to the amount paid, by a suitable hereditary stipend, and the giving of a social position. For example, when collecting money for naval protection, it was the same as selling positions of rank. Something is better than nothing. (*Aru mono wa kai mu ni masaru*). Since there was no chance for free

competition in the feudal society which had been established for so many years, was it not inevitable that new elements like the buying and selling of social position and an assured income should creep in?

In the hereditary system the plan of adopting sons is really unavoidable. If there is no heir, there must be the fear that the family will be scattered and the family name become extinct. Therefore under such circumstances the system of adoption is not only convenient but we must say that it becomes necessary. And the system of adoption itself was the principal element that gave new active strength to the feudal system which was likely to wither and die. Just consider the fact that in general those in this feudal society who were called great rulers and wise lords were most of them adopted sons. e. g.—

The famous Lord Tsunayoshi Tokugawa, the third Shogun of this peaceful period; Yoshimune Tokugawa the eighth Shogun, Lord of the Middle Restoration period; Keiki Tokugawa, the last of the Shoguns; Mito Reckko; Sadanobu Matsudaira, the first wise premier of the Tokugawa age, Hakaru Hayashi of the Middle Restoration of the Hayashi family; Yōzankō Uesugi; Reikankō Hosakawa; Eiunko Mōri and the like, and more recently Naosuke Ii and others; these were without exception adopted sons. If they had not been heirs of another family, they would have been dependent upon their own families all their lives, or at least nothing more than very ordinary persons idly passing their time unknown to the world, their names would never have found a place in history. By these instances we know that the system of adoption had the good effect of preventing too much inequality and to a certain extent, recovered a balance in the feudal society which had turned upside down the relative position of social rank and real talent.

As to bribery we have already condemned it as wrong and I do not wish to seem to approve of it. But if we look for a lever with which to move a stiff society which is bound by

formalism, I do not hesitate to count upon bribery as that very lever. Good sometimes comes from evil, as we gather grapes from the tendrils among the thorns. Of the men of great talent who wish to make for themselves names in the world, one in 10,000 will meet a friend. If so, he is fortunate, but if he is not able to meet a friend he will simply hold his talent and miserably fail on account of useless regulations and dead laws. A bribe in this case would give him an opportunity. Do we not know that there are circumstances in a society which strictly prohibit freedom of competition, in which bribery may become the substitute for free competition.

These three things,—selling of favors, adoption, and bribery,—in a positive way gave to feudal society new energy, activity and a stimulus; and negatively they absorbed much wise ability which would have been the enemy of that society, and so suppressed the spirit of resistance. The sovereigns of the feudal society should be deeply thankful to these three customs. The preservation of the Tokugawa (Bakufu) Shogunate during that age of national peace was not due to the descendants of Okubo Hikosaemon the typical hero of Mikawabushi, but the extremely surprising and strange fact cannot be denied that it was to bribery, the system of adoption, and the selling of favors (social rank).

SHUYO JIDAI. *The Period of Culture.*

Considering his family and the tendency of the times, if we ask about the present condition of Choshu and Boshu, we do not have to examine far to understand the kind of atmosphere that Shōin breathed and the circumstances in which he was brought up. Let me make a few observations concerning him.

His spiritual father was the spirit of Reverence for the Emperor and Protection of the Country; his mother was the Distress of the Country; and it was from the union of these two that the great character and suffering martyr, Shōin Yoshida, came forth. But how did he come forth? Naturally he was

not what we call a precocious child but he was the principal one among a number of characters that came to early maturity about the time of the Restoration. If we look for some one to compare with him, we may speak of Keigaku Hashimoto. They were alike in this regard that they forgot to think of self in their great anxiety over the affairs of the country. The easiest way to show clearly his relation to society is to compare him in age and character with others of the same time. To mention a few, —Seifu Murata was older than he by 47 years, Seigan Yanagawa by 41 years, Tōko Fujita by 24 years, Shōnan Yokoi by 21 years, Shōzan Sakuma by 19 years, Naohitsu Ii by 15 years, Kaishu Katsu by 7 years, Takamori Saigo by 3 years, while Koin Kido and Sanae Hashimoto were younger by 4 years. Shōin came before the public at just the time Seifu Murata was retiring. Properly speaking, he had no childhood. As soon as he came to the age of discretion he was already a man.

When he was six he succeeded to his uncle's name (Yoshida Kenryo) and became the head of the Yamaga school of military science. At the age of nine he became an apprentice teacher of this science in the clan school "Mei Rin Kan," and at ten became a regular teacher.

In the hereditary feudal system, in whatever position a man was born, he followed the occupation of his father; so it is not at all strange that Shōin should become a teacher at the age of ten, for at that time, in practice, he would cause one of the oldest students to exercise a guardianship over the teaching.

It can not be doubted that his understanding had already remarkably developed. At the age of eleven he gave a lecture before Yoshichika Mori, the clan Lord, on three wars in military strategy. The Daimyo greatly admiring him said, "What a remarkable child! "The Rikkyo 六經 has called in question the superiority of the Shichi Sho 七書". On being asked who his teacher was, he answered Bunnoshin Tamaki. This Tamaki was the younger brother of his real father. From this time Shōin often went to lecture before the Clan Lord (Daimyo). When

15 he lectured on 孫子虛實篇. Sonshi (の) Kyo Jitsu Hen (Lectures on Emptiness and Reality by Son Shi) and the Lord, because of his admiration for him, presented him with a commentary on Shichi Sho 七書.

He found such a friend in the clan lord that all his life through he was the one who most deeply moved him, while it was this Daimyo, who directly or indirectly defended him all his life.

Lord Yoshichika Mori was not naturally especially clever or eminent, but being circumspect, cautious and patient he was a man who attained success in the end. To make clear his accomplishments, he had a thorough knowledge of the ancient, practices, was broad minded and lenient. While speaking of this Lord we must acknowledge him the greatest influence in Yoshida Shōin's life at this period. In the history of loyalty of Chō Bō (Nagato and Suo) he can never be considered a lifeless figure.

Among Shōin's teachers, beside his uncle, we must mention Uzaemon Yamada, Matanosuke Yamada and Mabito Hayashi. When Shōin was fifteen years of age Yamada returned from Yedo and his report of conditions in the world greatly stimulated him, and to the end of his life he looked upon Yamada as his teacher.

When 16, Shōin studied the Naganuma style of military science under Matanosuke Yamada (also called Gan-shosai) who also had a good knowledge of the outside world. He said, "Just now the English, greatly extending their strength, are invading the East. India has already received the poison, China will be the next to be humiliated; and the flame will not die down until Ryūkyū is reached and Nagasaki is attacked. The whole nation is worried, our heads are tormented, we must make defences. I call your attention to the fact that among these invading foreigners many are heroes. A country which has heroes is strong. A strong country that has no enemies is apt to make plans and conquer other nations. It is as though there were no time for the people to make preparations;

but shall we speak only of defence? Perhaps our Divine country will stand high in the highest class among the nations. From days of yore there have been some of our people who have gained glory across the seas, among whom are the Empress Jingo, and Tokimune, and Hideyoshi. Now you are young, and very talented for your years, so why can't you rise up and make a reputation for your country among the nations?" Shōin indignantly replied. "It is truly difficult to come up to Tokimune and Hideyoshi, but Giritshaku and Baku Ma Ri Son were only men of small talent. May I not be compared to them?"

Shōin again at the age of seventeen was living and studying in the house of one of the best students of the family school, Mabito Hayashi, and by accident the house was destroyed by fire. Shōin's room was on the second floor, so he calmly threw his desk down but did not think at all of his own books and possessions, not even of the commentary on Shichi Sho 七書 given him by the clan lord, and it was reduced to ashes. With only one thought he set about to save the furniture of the house. By this intense spirit of self sacrifice we can see his manner of acquiring knowledge. (In the first year of Kaei 1848) 4th of 10th month, was published Ikensho, (opinion) 意見書 being his wisest views concerning the reestablishment of Mei Rin Kan. This writing was a stream of several thousand words earnestly explaining rewards and punishments, manners and customs, regulations, examinations and the ballot. One section of that "opinion" is as follows; "The re-establishment of this school is not justified if the customs of the country remain unchanged. Peace has lasted long, and it is a natural result that the customs of the country should become extravagant and their manners insincere. If good administration is carried out and literary and military science is encouraged among the people, the bad customs will be given up for those of simplicity and uprightness. By encouraging the striving for learning, the customs of show and fickleness will be changed, and at the same time the suppression of these bad customs will be a real stimulus

to the cause of learning. Long peace brings in formality, by which all transactions are done in accordance with established precedents and ancient customs, and this all leads to the ignoring of reality. We should treat everything simply and throw over the false and make much of reality. Anything quickly done is not permanent, as it is said that great undertakings require much time. So the attainment of national prosperity means the adoption of literary and military ideals, even though it should take such a long time as ten or twenty years. Great care must be taken not to vacillate or neglect those things that will not contribute toward the attainment of this purpose, for such neglect would stand in the way of attaining success."

I think we are struck with his serenity and calmness rather than with the appropriateness of this opinion, and even if we should wish we could not help admiring these traits. "Gojin wa kare ga iken, no gaisetsu yori mo, mushiro, mottomo sono rōsei, chinchaku ni kyotan sezaran to hossuru mo, atawazaru nari." This opinion, coming as it does from the hand of a nineteen year old young man, even though the spirit of the time called it forth, nevertheless shows a remarkably early maturity.

He went from time to time to lecture before his Lord, and wrote for him also. In the second year of Kaei 1849 when he was twenty he received a command to go to Otsu, Toyōura, Akamagaseki, and other places to inspect the coast, and took the students of his school with him. They also practised military drill by the way. Thus we see that, leader as he was, he was in reality as well as in name, the head of his school.

When he was 21 he gave a lecture on a chapter in a military book on "Castle Defence," on the "Determination of a General in a Besieged Castle," which very much impressed his clan Lord. Indeed I believe such admiration did not come to him simply for his speech. We know there was an active Shōin. We cannot forget that his character is the result of ten years' effort. The ten years, from the time when he became the head of the family school and became a teacher in the "Meirin Kan."

to the time of which we have just spoken, and his journey through Chinzei; was indeed the period for laying the foundation of the culture of his whole life.

CHINZEI RYOKO. *Journey to Kyūshū.*

Travel to Shoin was real learning (ikeru gakumon) 活ける學問, and that which made the deepest impression on him was his trip through Kyūshū. In the 5th month of the second year of Kaei (1849) he sent a letter to an old scholar of the Hirado clan, Sanai Hayama by name, asking to become his pupil. Hayama was a disciple of Issai Sato and a teacher in the Yamaga school of military science. Mansuke Yamaga was also a teacher in this school. As a result of this desire he left his home village in 8th month of the 3rd year of Kaei (1850) and was absent until the end of the year. In these four months he visited Kokura, Saga, Onuma, Nagasaki, Hirado, Amakusa, Shimabara, Kumamoto, Yanagawa, Kurume, but about half of the time was spent in Hirado. With the seal of blood he became a pupil of Mansuke Yamaga, but Hayama made the greatest impression upon him. He borrowed and read all the books of the new learning he could from Hayama and others, and their number and variety was truly surprising. He learned much about western wars, geography and things Chinese. He hunted up and looked through books by Oyōmei and others of that school. His study of military science while there was surprisingly minute.

But the book that gave him the greatest stimulus was "Haisho Zan Pitsu" 配所殘筆. Jottings in a Place of Banishment, by Sokō Yamaga. On thinking of his own "Ryu Kon Roku" 留魂錄 and Sakuma Shozan's Sei Gan Roku 省儉錄 "Record of a Baffled Spirit." ("Frank Record of Personal Reflections,") these two seemed trifling compared with this book which contained the heart blood of Sokō's life. Through this book he came to think of Sokō as a great hero, and it became the principal of his life to follow his ideals.

At that time he wrote "When I came to see these samurai I found that every one had a boat and when he had some leisure time he enjoyed the recreation of fishing in the sea, Hayama with an income of 500 koku even to the advanced age of sixty kept up the habit and always said that the samurai of an island could not do their work well unless they had such recreation. These south-western provinces had from ancient times had the reputation of laying emphasis on sea warfare, but in recent times Hirado has been following very old customs." From this time Shōin laid great emphasis on his study of maritime affairs, and his determination to cross the ocean doubtless received its first great stimulus from these associations. However, this was not the only thing he got from them.

While in Nagasaki, Shōin studied the Chinese and the Dutch languages to some extent and visited the Chinese and Dutch buildings and the Dutch ships and made close observations of their manner of life. In Saga he received no little benefit from association with certain literary men, (Kusaba Haisen 佩川 and Taketomi Kinan 圀南).

After Hirado the place that made the deepest impression on him was Kumamoto, although he spent but a few days there. These days were spent chiefly in the home of Teizo Miyabe, a student of military science of the same school, and it is unnecessary to explain here what an intimate friend of Shōin this brave Miyabe became. In Kumamoto Shōin came into touch with the pure air of loyalty to the Emperor.

About the time of Tenmei, 1781-1788, there was a physician, Taiho Tomita, who was strangely patriotic. He came into touch with one Hirokuro Takayama and early gave to him his ideas of reverence for the Emperor and dislike for the Shogun. From that time came Toji Hayashi, a scholar of great ability and well versed in the Japanese classics. He was a pious man and a very pillar in state loyalty. Miyabe, Nagatori and Todoroki were a small party all of whom drank in this atmosphere. At the same time there were Shonan Yokoi and others

who opposed the vacillation of the Han school, and standing independently, proclaimed the theory of practical learning. He followed the Miyabe party and took part in their discussions, although he did not altogether agree with them, and in after years when he was crying for the opening of the country they did not come to the point of entire agreement. It was just at this time that Shōin came there on his excursion, and he wrote in his diary, "The castle of Kumamoto is very large, indeed I was greatly surprised, and what people say about the castle of Kyushu being number one is probably not an exaggeration. My discussions with the Kumamoto men have been very profitable and this is because their spirit is energetic and active." He certainly did return with a good impression. About half of his friends even to his death were Higo men. And even after his death, the Chōshū party for Reverencing the Emperor and the same party in Higo worked hand and hand in the Kyoshi battle of Gwanji, the Higo men who were found among both artillery and cavalry of the Chōshū army were not a few; and we can understand the reason for this close relation from what had gone before.

This very young man, so mature for his years, who stood as a samurai of his country,—for him to be homesick seems strange indeed. When he was in Hirado he was only a few days from home, but he wrote a great many letters home, and it was his dream to go home often. In his attitude toward his father and mother and brothers and sisters he could not get away from his childhood heart. While in Kumamoto, he went often to the shrine of Kiyomasa Kato and prayed for the healing of his younger brother, Toshisaburo, who was dumb. He was not the fool who does not think of home. By this we understand the truth of the words "Chūshin o, ko shi no mon ni motomuru" We look for loyalty among obedient children."

BOMEI 亡命. *Disaster.*

Shōin had an impressionable mind and was very open-hearted. He selected the good from others and took care not to lose what he had gotten. Travel for him was like a moving school. We should speak not simply of his study by ordinary methods, or his attitude of investigation and criticism, with which he came in touch with things and people, but of the fact that he was continually exerting his whole strength for their good. This was not due to his study but to his inborn good nature.

In the 4th year of Kaei, 1851, he went to Yedo with his clan Lord to study military science. He was not satisfied with this only, but came in touch with some of the literary men of the time, such as Konsai Ataka ; Chakei Koga, Sosui Yamaga and Shōzan Sakuma. The latter regarded himself as a scholar of administration, and these associations were all very profitable. He also had discussions with Kakusai Toriyama and Teizo Miyabe and others, and even studied the Dutch language a little.

In a letter to his brother at this time, he shows, at the age of 19, his great earnestness in his study and that in every way he was seeking the deepest culture.

He could never be a shut-up kind of man. He was never without a book in his hand and he was never idle. In the 6th month he went with a Miyabe party to inspect the coast defences of Boso. In the 7th month he received permission to travel through the provinces of the North and East of Japan and on the 14th of 12th month, without waiting for his passport, he set out. He and the Miyabe party had previously agreed upon the 15th of 12th month, the day of revenge of the 47 Ronins, as the day for starting. However an official in the house of the clan lord wished to get the passport from Chōshū and so did not give him one at once. He did not hesitate for a minute, however, for he said." One promise is weightier than a moun-

tain. Even though I must give up my clan income, (hereditary stipend,)—and throw away my samurai title, the work with which I shall recompense my country is more than fighting over the keeping of empty rules. With these words and singing the following Chinese phrase in a high voice, dressed in a short skirt, and carrying a single sword, he crossed the great Musashi plain toward Mito. The phrase is

If we lift up the head,
And look upon the universe!
There is the great way, which,
If we follow, leads us aright.

Atama o age, uchū o mireba dai dō itaru tokoro shitagai.

In the 4th year of Kaei, 1851, leaving Mito and passing the town of Shirakawa, he entered Aizu, going toward Echigo, and crossing over to Sado (island). Then changing his course he penetrated Ushū until he could look across the Hakodate strait to Matsumae. Then passing Hirosaki, Aomori, Morioka, changing his course he went from Sendai to Yonezawa, and passing Nikko returned to Yedo on the 5th of the 4th month of the 5th year of Kaei, 1852. This one act by which he cut himself off from his clan was the first step towards his ultimate failure, and was the first time he showed this fierce spirit. Why did he do it? What did his travel in the east part of the country give him? It seems as though his greatest benefit came from Mito. He already had the foundation principles of great reverence for the Emperor, and his opinion of the honor of the country and the spirit of protecting the country; so he did not have to wait for the Mito learning to get these. But the scholars of Mito had been lecturing for 200 years minutely and clearly on the relation of Emperor and Shōgun, the Japanese and the foreigners, and the reason for the divine mission of divine Japan (Jinshu no jinshu taru yuen). He came in touch with Aizawa, Toyoda and others, and after hearing their talk and discussions said with a feeling of deep regret, "I was born in my Emperor's

country, and yet I did not know the reason for the national existence. What right do I have to stand on my country's soil? On the inside of the cover of his diary for these eastern journeys in very small and rough characters something was written about Rikki Koku Shi, 六國史 the History of Six Nations. When he went to Mito he was made ashamed that he knew so little of the history of his country, so immediately on returning he secured the history and read it. Reading there about ancient, noble and heroic emperors, and of expeditions for conquering the barbarians beyond the seas, he said regretfully, "At last I have now come to know the reason for the existence of my country." So he, by walking from the top to the bottom of the Dragon Fly Country, came to the firm conclusion that his country was entirely too narrow; and this shows that his "active learning" (learning by travel) was real learning. But his eastern travels did not have such a great influence over him as his western journeys. It was principally the one act of giving up his samurai title that had a great influence over his destiny. Shall we ask again why he did such a thing? His ideals could not be realized by remaining in a single locality. He could not be satisfied to stand in his country simply as a samurai of the Lord of Chōshū, but to stand in Japan as a citizen of Japan. This was his ideal. He indeed appointed himself a samurai of the nation and his ideal was allegiance to the nation as a whole. We must admit that for the feudal time this act of "Bōtei" involving the giving up of his income and his resignation from the samurai class was indeed an awful thing. How is it therefore that these considerations did not deter him at all? What is such a thing as the postponement of a day for starting a journey? How could he give away such a weighty matter for such a little thing? Do we think that he could be content in his own eyes? Yes. Yes indeed! He was disregarding the ordinary calculation of profit and loss. He had the consciousness that one promise of a samurai was weightier than a mountain.

Even as a citizen of Chōshu he could suffer the erasing of his clan registration as a samurai and the loss of his hereditary income rather than a reputation for irresolution and infirmity. It was therefore on account of the real essence of the basic righteous principle of the samurai that he was able to do this and have peace of mind. By this one thing we see that he did not recognize the fixed rules of the feudal system, whether he was conscious of them or not. He had already appointed himself a citizen of his country rather than of his two home provinces and it is not too much to say that with this one act of endangering his life we see him baptized as a son of the Empire.

TOKAI NO SHIPPAI 踏海の失敗. *Failure to go abroad.*

Though he failed to go abroad Shōin was one of the very first pioneers in the expansion of the new Japan. We should not only say that he was one but that he was the principal one among those pioneers. From the historical point of view it is very narrow to think of his endeavor to go to a foreign country (the U.S.), simply as a personal adventure.

The activity of society is first seen in persons and the activity of persons is first seen in the pioneer. I think that the pure light and the best color in his diary seems like half comedy and half tragedy. To the outsider there are various extremes of feeling regarding his conduct on account of successive times of excitement, praise and censure, and times of inactivity. We should not however see this only, but by all means look upon his life from the larger standpoint, as the opening act in the expansion of New Japan.

The Russian warship left Nagasaki, and Perry according to his promise with four warships and three steamers returned and anchored near Kanagawa.

In his diary of this time we find the determination to go abroad recorded, and that he and a friend secretly promised each other to carry out this determination.

On going to Mukojima with some friends to see the plum

blossoms, he was impressed by the fact that most people were happy and having a good time, and not concerned about the coming of the foreign men-of-war. He also felt sad to think that if he went to a foreign country it would be a long time before he could see these beautiful sights and his own happy people again.

In his writings we get a view of the time and also his own opinion. On the one hand were those who were giving themselves entirely to pleasure and on the other only a few who were anxious about the country and saw its danger and were chivalrous enough to sacrifice themselves for its safety, so that one, even having a heart of stone, must have felt like weeping. This had been prophesied by wise men but had not been dreamed of by the foolish. For three hundred years the country had not been so stirred nor challenged to such an extent. The cowards feared, brave men were roused; the foolish were surprised and the wise were anxious. The people's minds were confused, and they did not know what to do. At this time Shōin could not be idle in the least. His determination for going abroad, like a running horse under the whip, was greatly stimulated; therefore he, of all men, could not rest in idleness.

Holding to his determination for going abroad, Shōin went to his brother and simulated a farewell. He said "From now, shaking off the dust of the world, I am going to Kamakura and shall do nothing but read books." He gave the following written pledge to his brother: "For ten years, saying nothing about the country, and doing nothing in public, I shall become a book-worm at home, but shall sometimes walk about the country to observe the tendency of the times. This will become simply the foundation of my service to the country in later years. Even though Mount Fuji should crumble and the rivers become dry, yet I will not break my pledge."

The next day, calling a meeting of his friends, he told them his determination and wrote down the following in large characters. "I have a purpose and have determined to carry it out

even though Mount Fuji crumbles and the rivers are exhausted, Who can easily change this purpose?"

This strict oath on the one hand was the pledge of his going into confinement in Kanakura, and on the other the pledge for his going to a foreign country in the American man-of-war. If mountains and rivers had spirits they would laugh at this rash oath, for his real purpose from the first was not the former but the latter.

With a friend, Shigesuke Kaneko, Shōin went at once to Kanagawa and Yokohama and began plans for getting aboard one of the vessels. He sought advice from Sakuma Shōzan and they made many plans, but each in turn failed as fast as made. They went from one place to another, following the ships and looking longingly at them from the land, but no opportunity could be discovered.

At last Perry's fleet went to Shimoda and to Shimoda they followed. They made five definite plans and five times failed. Then as a last resort they stole a fisherman's boat and planned to go directly to the war vessels. One day when they saw the foreigners come ashore, they handed them a letter which they had previously written in Chinese characters. Then they entered the Kakisaki Benten shrine and waited for the tide, intending to go out in the fisherman's boat which was tied on the sand. Just at midnight when all the world was sleeping, with none knowing but the stars in the heavens and the waves in the sea, they set out. Unfortunately the oarlock broke and they were helpless. Shōin took his underskirt and tied the oars to either side of the boat, and they worked away with all their strength but the make shift broke, and then the oars were tied fast with his belt. Through poor preparations and lack of skill in rowing, their boat wandered about on the sea like a leaf and made little progress through the rough waves in the wide space between them and the war vessels.

At last their strength was gone and it seemed their arms would drop from their sockets and they were distressed at their

helpless condition. But by the very stubbornness of their spirit they made progress and finally reached the "Mississippi." "Who comes there?" called the watchman in surprise from the deck, throwing the deck light upon them. With the aid of this light Shōin wrote the following message in Chinese characters and climbing the gang plank gave it to the watchman. "Ware-ra, meriken ni yukan to hossu, kimi saiwai ni kore, taisho ni kou". "We wish to go to America. Will you please ask this of the commander?" The watchman did not understand more than half they said so motioned to them that they must go to the Powhatan, the flag ship where Perry was. Yet hopeful they reentered their boat and rowed about 300 yards to the flagship. Failing however to come up to the land side they came up to the sea side and when they came to the foot of the gangplank, tossed about as they were by the waves, they called in a loud voice. The watchman was so surprised that he grew angry and came down the gang plank with a pole and pushed their boat off. Then Shōin when it came near jumped to the gang plank holding the painter, and Kaneko fearing he would be entirely cast off, also jumped to the plank. In doing this they lost hold of the boat in which were their swords and other belongings, and it was soon a helpless captive in the midst of the foaming waves. With such distress, even at the risk of their lives, they had reached the war vessel but even then their real desire was not realized. They asked earnestly, appealing piteously and persuasively with all the strength they had but it availed nothing. The officer said; "Your purpose is all right, but, if on the very day on which we wish to open friendly relations between our two nations, we should take you away secretly, this act might greatly endanger those relations." So Shōin was checkmated in his great desire to see the world. How impossible it is to foretell human events! "Aa!; jinji bōbō yoshime hakaru bekarazu." This is the story of his failure to cross the sea, May it not be that the reason why Heaven kept this man in Japan was that it was to be he who should stir up the spirit of reform?

SHOZAN SAKUMA, SHOIN YOSHIDA
AND YOKOI.

The late Count Katsu once told me, that when he was young, he saw a certain student in the home of Sakuma Shōzan. His hair was in disorder like uncut grass, and he was so thin and bony he looked hardly able to carry his own clothes. He wore a short divided skirt. This student was Torajiro (Shōin) Yoshida. Among those who had great influence over Shōin after his youth, Shōzan Sakuma was the most important. If we wish to know Shōin we must therefore know him also. No one knows a person so well as he knows himself. And Sakuma's character is fully revealed to us in his book, "Sei Gan Roku." "Frank Record of Personal Reflections." It was because this book was connected with Shōin's crime of trying to go abroad that Sakuma was put in prison in the fourth month of the first year of Ansei, (1854) and was confined there for seven months. During that time he was not allowed either to study or write, and as this book is the result of silent thinking, the results of which were indelibly written in his mind during those seven months, it is very much like ("Yu Shitsu Bunko,") "Manuscript of the Dark Chamber" by Shōin. This "Manuscript of the Dark Chamber" was written during the three and a half years [from the first month of the third year of Ansei (1856) until the time when he was brought to Yedo to pour out his blood as a martyr on the Kotsuka field. This record, which is written so clearly and in detail is hardly to be compared with that of Sakuma which was brief and roughly done. As the "Manuscript of the Dark Chamber" is the biography of the living Shoin, so the "Sei Gan Roku" is the spiritual image of Shōzan. If the record of Shōin is his confession written in blood, that of Shōzan is a monument engraved with a pen of steel. In the one was a restlessness which he could not prevent, an effervescence of an active nature, a terrible seriousness, an earnestness that was bent on moving Heaven and earth, a frank-

ness and openheartedness that covered up not the least defect ; if all these we see in the "Manuscript of the Dark Chamber," on the other hand we see in the ("Sei Gan Roku") "Frank Record of Personal Reflections" a nature which does not hesitate to disbelieve what all call good, and an independence of judgment not to doubt what all call bad. We see also that he considered himself a favored child of creation, and that with the aspiration to bring new knowledge to the people of the nation. Shōzan had a dignified manner, and his disposition was joyful in its circumspection. He had a great knowledge of everything both ancient and modern, despised idle talk, that did not promote real learning, and emphasized experimental knowledge. This was Shōzan Sakuma. The difference in the two books is simply the difference in the two men. Sometimes people compared Shōzan and Yokoi. They were alike in that they were more foresighted than average men, but they had their own special characteristics. Yokoi advocated practical learning, studying from the concrete, but the reason for his personality was that he discerned intuitively Godlike knowledge out of a spiritual consciousness like the involuntary bubbling of a spring.

Shōzon having the spirit of divination, lectured clearly on pure learning and explained the way of man, (morality) from heart knowledge. But in principle he was rather like a great architect who, making a plan and reasoning and calculating from the real measurements, does not vary a hair's breadth.

Yokoi comprehended the delicacy of men's hearts, and while talking and laughing he considered the difficulties of the country. Sakuma by his fixed management of things may be said to be like an anatomist who learns by dissection, and this must be called his strong point. Yokoi's mode of thought throughout his life was by the synthetic, general view, while Sakuma's learning came through the analytic method. Yokoi, comprehending the mystery of heavenly reason and human feelings, proclaimed the opening of the country. Sakuma, by a great plan of military defence, argued the evil of indiscrete

exclusion of foreigners. Yokoi's mind was like a refreshing breeze. Sakuma's brain was like fine steel. Yokoi's ideal was to spread great righteousness over the earth, Sakuma's ideal was to take in the five continents and make his Imperial country the head of all. Yokoi's ideal character was a Washington, Sakuma's was a Peter the Great or Napoleon. Yokoi said, "Gyoshun, Kōshi no dō akirakani shi." "Make clear the way of Confucius." Seiyō Kikai no jutsu o tsukushi "Make use of the skill of western machinery." "Sakuma said, "Tōyō dōtoku seiyo geijitsū, sei so nokosazu, hyō ri kore kanau," "Eastern morals and western arts, do not omit the best (fineness and coarseness) inquire first of both sides." In this respect they were naturally at one, but Yokoi's vision was fixed principally on persons, while Sakuma's mind was fixed on things. It must be said also that they were alike in despising ideal talk and in emphasizing reality. They were very different however from that leader of the Restoration, Tōko Fujita. In the distinction between Emperor and Shogun, in the talk about Japanese and foreigners, Fujita was a representative of the Mito school. He was not, however, in favor of the indiscreet exclusion of foreigners and thought the process too severe. But the eccentricity of a child of three is also seen in the man of thirty. Yokoi, according to the tendency of the universe, held the world-wide view and advocated it. Sakuma held the Japanese view and understood it. As for Fujita he had only the very narrow Mito point of view. But he was the most earnest of the three. The Mito school was a sort of Mohammedanism. With their sacred books in one hand and their sword in the other, they wished to bring about reform. They wished to reform the people and make them brave, as even cowards become brave after drinking wine. But how little they knew of the way to reform the people! Those who do not emphasize reason but on the other hand emphasize sentiment are indeed apt to become dangerous. Fujita was originally not in favor of indiscreet exclusion but with the determination for exclusion he lashed the hearts of men who had

been decaying for 250 years and by this brought the country to a very critical situation. He endeavored however afterwards to right this condition. He had a great plan crying, "We must not stain our precious swords with the blood of foreigners." *Hōtō somegatashi, yoi no chi.*

He was drunk with his ideas and wished to make the whole world drunk. Sakuma and Yokoi in their wisdom understood that the world has always been drunk. They, like Shōin, in spite of their natural strong feeling of hostility, did not allow themselves to fall into the narrow policy of protection. To be sure Shōzan had a great share in this developement, but his policy was founded on real knowledge. Compared with Sakuma's, Fujita's knowledge of the arts was crude; compared with Yokoi's, his vision was very narrow. But he had a great plan for the administration of the country, and quickly grasping the tendency of disturbed society, he was compelled to go forward alone. In spite of his connection with the Tokugawa family, he believed that the political authority should rest in one ruler and that the representative of the nation before foreign countries should be none other than the Emperor. He believed in the necessity of politics and religion uniting men's hearts. It is a matter of regret that he did not really believe in the policy of exclusion, but used it as a means of stirring up the people, and with this at last led the country to make a great mistake. Afterwards others tried to stir up the country with this exclusion policy, some making it their only aim, and others using it as a means of restoring the Emperor's power as well as of uniting the country. Nothing could stop this tendency. The strength of the Mito clan could not help being great, and Fujita was the "Paul" of the Mito clan. Sakuma's characteristic was that his brave enlightened spirit could not rest without making public what he believed, and his straight-forward nature would not make public what he did not believe. He once sang, "*Kokoromi ni izaya, sakeban Yamahiko no, Kotae dani seba, Koe wa oshimaji.*" "When we try and call, if there is any answer from the moun-

tain echo, we shall not hesitate to call and call again." This is indeed a good means of reform. As long as there is any response from the people, we should cry out. In this respect Shōin indeed had no reason to be ashamed as a disciple of Sakuma and Sakuma had no reason to be ashamed as the teacher of Shōin.

If we may compare the two briefly, (This happened in the 4th year of Kaei 1851 in Yedo) Shōin, thinking that Shōzan was simply a teacher who made his living by selling foreign learning, went in his ordinary dress to become his pupil. Shōzan said sternly. "Do you wish to become a scholar or do you wish to study language? If it is your purpose to become a scholar? then put on the garb of a student and come." Shōin, returned and changing to his student dress came again. Afterwards he said "That fellow Shōzan is no ordinary fellow, I tell you."

At that time Shōin was 22 and Shōzan was 41. Shōzan's reputation was nation wide. Among men he stood as Mount Fuji among the mountains and compared to water he was deep as the sea.

In the beginning Shōin studied the Chinese and Dutch languages and the arts, and later, the tendency of the times in the nation. There was a difference of 19 years in the ages of teacher and pupil and their natures were very different. The pupil was simple in the extreme, while the teacher was dignified in the extreme. On the one hand was the pupil with a big head and disordered hair, dressed in a short divided skirt; on the other the teacher with a full head of long hair and a long beard dressed in a coat of figured satin, sitting solemnly on a tiger skin. The pupil would wield his writing brush like lightning making characters large and small and paying no attention whatever to whether brush, pen ink or paper were good or bad, while the teacher refused to write at all unless he had a special kind of good paper (hoshō gami). The pupil was very humble and the teacher had a proud air, conscious of being the teacher of the world. The pupil expressed

his heart frankly and openly without reserve, while the teacher was so reserved he was never caught off his guard; seldom either smiling or frowning, sitting in the midst of hundreds of ceremonies with unmeasured dignity. The student thought that simplicity was the real nature of a hero and the teacher took just the opposite view. These indeed were their differences, but their very differences drew them together. Shōin said "Shōzan tokkukitsu shi, unei aogi gata karubeshi nanjitsu tenpuokaru, Kaibo shungei wadakamaru". Shōzan is indeed like a great mountain. It is difficult to look up to the clouds. When the wind blows the clouds about, we have a happy view of a group of lions." This poem shows clearly their relationship, does it not?

From the time of Shōin's being cut off from his clan, he got permission to study for ten years and came to Yedo for that purpose. During that time the spirit of the times became more and more intense, and the relation of the teacher and pupil more and more intimate. It is quite clear from some writings of Shōin that his attempt to go abroad was stimulated by Shōzan. While Shōzan and Shōin were in prison in Yedo they had no opportunity of seeing each other except in court. But any one reading the poems they exchanged at this time cannot but be impressed. Shōzan wrote "Go o yosu, waga mon, Dōshi no shi Eijoku ni yotte, shoshin ni somuku nakare." "Let me advise you a loyal pupil of mine. Don't let honor or shame turn you aside from your first purpose." Shōin in answer wrote "Sude ni shisei o totte, yoji ni fusu, Izukunzo eijoku ni yotte sho shin ni somukan," "As for my life, I already count it as nothing, How indeed could I let honor or shame turn me aside from my first purpose?" Would not even Heaven weep at such sincerity? Shōzan wrote again "Last year about this time I did not think you would come to this but thought of you as rising to the sky, like the stork." Shōzan wrote and sent this to Shōin while they were in prison but then they were not like storks in the

autumn sky, but rather like foolish chickens crying pitifully in an iron net. When they were released from the Tenmachō prison, one went east and the other west and Shōin wrote the following of their separation, "When we separated we were surrounded by officers and unable to say a word so we departed with a single bow; now that we are separated by 750 miles, when I hear the voices of the stork and the wild goose, I am reminded of my friend and can hardly control my feelings." Shōin passed along the Tōkaidō and returned home to Chōshū. Shōin's very ardent attachment for Shōzan while in the Noyama prison shows not only the friendship of teacher and pupil but the deepest feelings of intimate friends. He said, "Shōzan, is my teacher indeed. He expects great things of me." His ancestral teacher (through books) was Yamaga Sokō but his only living teacher was Shōzan. This is not the only sentiment he revealed in his poems. When Harris came to Yedo in the 4th year of Ansei, 1857, that very month Shōin sent a letter to Shogoro (Late Prince) Katsura in which he said "My teacher Shōzan is a samurai of the whole country. He can manage national affairs. If you don't use him now what will the people say?" and urged him to mediate to secure Shōzan's release.

Shōin wrote the following questions to Shōzan on the 25th of the 4th month of the 6th year of Ansei, 1859, "Whom shall we rely upon of the several Lords of the feudal government? What shall I do first to restore the country to the Emperor? Where is the fittest place for a samurai to die?" and further said, "*Boku, ima ikite eki nashi, Shisuru tokoro, nashi, Shintai, Kore Kiwamaru, Saiwai ni Kono michi ni suzuman?*" "My life is useless now, but I have no place in which to die. I am in my extremity, therefore I shall take this way (the way of death)." Unfortunately he found a place to die without waiting for the answer from Shōzan. On the 25th of the 5th month, on the very day that he arrived in Tokyo, he was dragged off to the great prison of Ansei. This was his answer.

SHOIN TO KOKUTAI RON. *Shōin and his Discussion
on the State.*

As a public man the thing that Shōin insisted upon was the exaltation of the state. He wished the people to realize the greatest national consciousness in the world, and putting this national consciousness into action, to make known the glory of Japan beyond the seas and to spread her influence abroad in the world. Putting his own fortune or misfortune entirely out of consideration, he determined to make his utmost effort for his Emperor's country. Moreover going through all these was the principle of loyalty to the Imperial family. To express these points briefly in modern phraseology we may say, first a National Consciousness, second, Imperialism, third the Spirit of Self-sacrifice. (Kokumin teki jikaku; teikoku shugi, kenshinteki seishin.) To express old truth in new terms was the great question of the world. Shall we not say then that Shōin was a prophet of fifty years ago?

He acknowledged that these principles came to him through the ancestral school of Yamaga Sokō. From our viewpoint if we think what was the greatest influence over Shōin, we must mention first that of the home-training under his father and uncle Tamaoki. In his mature years the greatest influence affecting his ideas of the administrative policy of the country came undoubtedly from Sakuma Shōzan. From the beginning to the end of his life the greatest stimulus of an intimate friend came to him from his clan lord Mori. The essential elements in his idea of reverence for the Emperor and exclusion of foreigners, as well as a bravery that knew no fear of death, we should say positively were due to the teaching of Yamaga Sokō. Shōin looked upon Sokō as a character of nation-wide influence rather than as a scholar of a military science. He thought of himself as a prophet of the chief principles of Sokō rather than as a proclaimer of the Yamaga school of military science. The thing that moved him most was not Sokō's (Bukyo Zensho) "Com-

plete Book of Military Science" (Teaching), but rather the trivial "Haisho zan Pitsu" "Jottings in a place of Banishment." Therefore we must compare the book with Shōin's "Ryūkon-roku" "Record of Baffled Spirit," for in these two small books we find their two natures and characters clearly set forth. Some one may say, self admiration, but do we not know that no one knows a person as he knows himself?

In 3rd year of Ansei 1856, 8th month while (Shōin) was confined in his own house, being permitted to carry on a home school, he began a series of lectures on "Bukyo Shogaku" "Primary Military Teaching" by Sokō Yamaga. In this book the determined spirit of the samurai is indeed very briefly set forth, or we may say the essential spirit of Bushidō. He said at the very beginning of the lectures, "You and I were born in our glorious Imperial country and as we are especially samurai of the Samurai gate, let us follow diligently the profession of the Samurai. There is no questioning that we should give some suitable return for the great benevolence of the country. There are many books, new and old, so why is it I believe Sokō's book so firmly? My teacher was called to the house of (Awa no Kami) the governor Hojo. By looking at him when he received the commandment to be confined in Akō, we shall be able to know his ordinary determination. Again by looking at the whole plan for taking revenge against the enemy of the deceased Lord of the bereaved samurai of Akō, (47 Ronin) we are able to see what their leader Yoshio Oishi learned from my teacher Sokō. As to the feeling about the benevolence of the country, my ancestral teacher, although he was born in themidst of a world full of common scholars who admired foreign countries and despised their own, stood bravely alone, and casting aside these adverse opinions investigated the way of the ancient Holy Emperors, and by the "Chucho Ji Jitsu"—"Facts about the Imperial Court in the Middle Ages," which he compiled, we are able to understand his deep mind."

From his own writings, therefore, we are able to under-

stand Shōin's relation to the state discussion and also his relation to Bushido. Shōin again said :

"What we mean by the State is that it is the body of our Divine land. Other countries have their own peculiar forms of administration (*Ikoku no tai ari*). If we read the books of foreign countries we are apt to think that only the affairs of those countries are good. In this way the custom of despising our own country and envying other countries is the weakness of scholars. This is because they do not understand the reason for the constitution of our Divine Country being different from other countries."

Shōin truly knew the nature of our state. He knew the special characteristics of our nation, and with the consciousness of these facts he knew the first obligation of the people. Although in regard to this point he used the opinions of Sokō, he was never simply a phonographic narrator of these opinions. He received the beginning of his education from Sokō but the fact that he made this knowledge his own showed undoubtedly his own discernment. He wrote the following in his prison diary ; "When I was young I was so soaked in Chinese learning only, and afterward the fact that I was little acquainted with the affairs of my own glorious country caused me to be much ashamed, but I remember, that I always showed to those of like mind what I had thought and seen and heard, after thinking it over carefully myself. Well, it is no accident that our Imperial line has continued without interruption for a thousand generations, but the basis of the Imperial way lies in this, that when Amaterasu Omikami handed down the sacred treasures to her descendants she swore this oath ; "*Hoso no sakkan naru koto, Tenjō to tomo ni kiwamari nakaru beshi.*" "The existence of our Imperial throne will be as endless as Heaven and earth." Yet I do not know the loyalty of China and India. As our Imperial Throne is endless from the beginning, so we should let this thought sink deeply, that our loyalty must also be endless. According to the words of Ama-no-oshiki-no-mikoto 'He who

dies for the sake of his lord does not die in vain, whether he goes to the sea and his corpse is left in a watery grave, or whether he goes to the mountain and the only shroud for his lifeless body is the mountain grass.' This is the way of loyalty." By this quotation we cannot doubt the one principle that runs all through his discussion on the State and his Imperialism and his ideas of Bushidō, and this is his loyalty to the Imperial House. In regard to this principle of loyalty Shōin was very much dissatisfied with the movements—of Confucius and Mencius. Concerning Mencius he said loudly "The first principle we read in his "Kei Sho" writings is that we should not flatter the sages. Confucius and Mencius left the state of their birth and became citizens of another state, and this is inexcusable.

Our country has a history of uninterrupted successions for a thousand generations from the Emperor above to the clan Lord below, and China and other countries cannot compare with this. Therefore the loyalty of China is like the service of a man or woman servant who remains in one position for only six months. Their principle is simply to go where they can get the most. I hear that in recent times there is a tendency to despise our country, and selecting the best wisdom they find in foreign countries to quickly reform the administration. What can I use to suppress this tendency? There is no other way than the one I have just discussed, i.e. to make clear the great virtue of the reason for the peculiarity of our State Constitution as compared with others. He who serves the country, let him die for the country; he who serves his clan, let him die for the clan; let the vassal die for his Lord. If the son has the firm determination to die for his father, why should we fear the foreigners. I beg of you let us follow this principle together."

Shōin, by proclaiming this idea of the State, stirred up the hearts of the men of the nation, and united the national sentiment to the extent of opposing foreign countries. His ideas of the state were not the arguments of a scholar of the ancient classics, but the policy, into which he put his blood and his life

and his living energy (Katsu ryoku) was to awaken the people of his own day from their long night of sleep of the past 300 years and cause them to consent to the good in the new.

SHOIN TO TEIKOKU SHUGI. *Shōin and Imperialism.*

At the end of his written lectures on military teaching, he said earnestly that it was impossible to maintain the integrity of the country by the foolish policy of abusing and opposing the foreigners and the making of forts and cannon for coast defence, but rather they should not rest in ease, but form a definite policy for conquering various foreign countries. His idea of the State was not the besieged-castle-like policy of exclusion, but by reading between the lines we can understand that this opinion was that it would be very difficult to maintain the independence of the country if they did not form a national policy on the principle of an open country and progress.

Furthermore it seems necessary to make a concrete observation. When he was put in prison on account of his failure to go abroad he wrote "Yūshū Roku" 幽囚錄 (Record of a Dark Room Prisoner) and asked Shōzan to correct it. One verse of this record is as follows,—in Chinese, "I am thinking circumspectly of our Emperors of ancient times, how their power was feared by foreigners, how their favor extended to other peoples, and that their great plans and strategy shine throughout a thousand generations, and they filled up their lack, taking the strong points from others and strengthening their weak points. Taking what they had they fill up our want, so that after generations should imitate such wise teaching in forming broad-minded plans." Indeed isn't this Imperial undertaking of an open country and progress taken from the history of the country?

He did not fall vainly into this eccentric view of despising foreigners and respecting his own country. He explained the necessity of taking the strong points of others to make up one's own deficiencies. Judging from these points he differed greatly

from the common advocates of the national policy in the breadth and height of his view. I wish to inquire further about the policy which he held at this time. Another quotation from his "Yūshū Roku" is as follows (not translating but outlining the ideas.)

He advocated the "opening of the Hokkaido and establishing clan lords there, the taking of Kamchatka and the Kurile Islands and advising the Lord of Ryukyu to attach them to Japan; to compel the Koreans to pay tribute to our own country as in former times; to take a part of Manchuria and to take Formosa and the Luchoo Islands and gradually show an aggressive tendency." This is what he wrote in the 1st year of Ansei, 1854, when he was 25 years old. To the common debaters (Zokuronsha) of this time, this must have seemed visionary talk. But to-day, sixty years afterward, we have already seen the fulfillment of more than half of his prophecy. I do not at all mean to say that he was the sole creator of this ideal, but he believed in it and saw beyond it, and we cannot withhold credit from him for being the one who did not write it down as an ideal only, but explained it as a practical policy.

This ideal of the expansion of the country, may, I think, be traced to the party of Toshiaki Honda and Shinen Sato, who were responsible for stirring up such a phenomenon among the wise men at the time just following the middle Tokugawa period. Therefore, when we think of Shōin, it does not seem at all strange that he saw this ideal.

In the times of Kaei (1848-1853) and Ansei (1854-1859) there were many scholars proud of their knowledge of the proper way of killing dragons, but they were like the artist Yokō who liked to paint tigers but when he saw a real one was so frightened that he entirely lost his presence of mind. So these scholars, when the warships of the foreign countries came to attack our shores, were perplexed only about what to do at that time and did not even dream of the expansion of the country. In the midst of men like these, Shōin, looking clearly into the origin of

the establishment of the country, planned to carry out large plans for an open country and progress. It would be impossible for Shōin with his view point to agree with such as these.

In "Ryūkon Roku" he made an offering of words of praise and pity to his friend whom he had not seen, Sanai Hashimoto, who was in prison with him and who suffered the same death, who wrote a letter to his friend Ujihisa Murata, the gist of which is as follows: "Our great obligation to-day is to readjust the administration of the country and by diplomacy to develop friendly relations with some of the most important foreign countries, therefore we must know the conditions existing in foreign countries. According to the tendency of the times, I believe there should be in the future an alliance between the five great continents and in this way avoid great conflicts. The chief of this confederation will naturally be England or Russia, but I believe it should be Russia,—as England is too avaricious, Russia is strong and strict and therefore Russia will probably make the best reputation. Japan, in order to maintain her independence, must have Korea and part of Manchuria and also should have territories in S. America and India. This will be very difficult however, as we are not strong enough yet and for this reason we should make an alliance with Russia, because she is our neighbor. If we depend on Russia she will feel friendly toward us. Until this is accomplished, it would be well to seek the sympathy of America and get her help in resisting the aggression of England. In carrying out this Imperial policy we must look upon America as our Eastern ally, and Russia as our brother, and Europe as our territory, and the first important thing is to take some territory in the nearest countries."

This was truly a proposal for a Russo-Japan alliance. At that time England, on account of her movements toward China had incurred a very bad reputation. The argument against England and favorable to Russia is one part of what was being said among the wise men of the country. Like Otsuki Bankei, Hashimoto was one of these. According to Hashimoto the im-

portant thing to consider was that with the help of Russia they would not only be able to maintain the independence of their own country but with this alliance as a backshield they would be able in a large way to put into practice the policy of expansion. This shows that in their plans they were not alike but that they were unexpectedly one in their ultimate object. That is to say, in the sphere beyond the open country policy and the protection of the country, they both went far beyond others and were very firm in taking their stand for and advocating a broad Imperialism. But in Shōin we see the strange determination to hold to this ideal because to him it was not simply a temporary plan but he understood it as the Imperial policy of the Imperial Line.

SHOIN AND BUSHIDO.

Shoin united loyalty and filial piety into one, and made them the one law and foundation for the establishment of society, although education concerning loyalty had been neglected for 600 years. He cried: "Where shall we find the reason for the personality of man, and where the reason for the existence of learning?" He passed his whole life holding to the principle of loyalty to the Emperor and in addition breathed it into all of his surroundings. By this principle of loyalty to the Emperor, the apple of his eye came to be, above, the Emperor of Divine Descent, and below the people of the nation. During the feudal times when the country was divided into many states his vision was to see the people of the country united. He said; "Just now all foreigners are inquiring into our weak points. It is my greatest wish at this time that we may unite the hearts of the people of our sixty states into one body as strong as stone, and chastise the small and ugly-minded foreigners, and quiet all our troubles."

Fifty years afterward in the Russo-Japanese war, did not our people experience the realization of this hope?

Shōin said: "When I came to Mito I called on Kitaro Kuwahara, and he said to me, 'If we look at the samurai of the

several states it would make no difference to those of Kyushu, if a foreign boat should attack our Eastern coast; and most of of them in the south would not be at all anxious if the foreigners should attack the northern shores.' What a very small and selfish point of view! All people born in Japan should cast away these ideas and together be anxious for the whole country, and the people of all our coasts should seek to be brothers. The danger from the foreigners is not simply for the east with no relation to the west, not simply to the north with no relation to the south. If great danger should arise we could not divide the east from the west; there would be no limit between the north and the south but we must think of it as one great danger for the whole community." What means did Shōin take to stir up the power of the nation and make it unitedly national? He said "It is the uprising of Bushidō." What is Bushidō? In the first place it is not simply rudeness, lawlessness, roughness and madness. It is not simply committing to memory and reading, ostentation or literary effeminacy, but it is the study of real military science, the study of true learning and the culture of the body and spirit, by these to rule the nation and to preserve the peace of the country,—this is Bushidō. Moreover what is the essence of Bushidō? He said "Gi nari." It is righteousness. If we put it into modern words we may say, the spirit of self-sacrifice. He said: "Our ancestral teacher Sokō Yamaga said, 'The adequate rendering for Bushidō is the one word righteousness. And the one thing which he used all his life, to put it into one word, was "gi," righteousness. His firm conviction was that the foundation (reason) for the national existence was the promotion of righteousness as a national characteristic.

Furthermore in his explanation of the many details of Bushidō, his conclusion always was that it was simply one thing, "Gi," i.e. righteousness. In the practise of righteousness he took one advance step. He said that righteousness was not simply a fact that entered into the discussion of life and death, but righteousness was something for which men should be ready to die, and he was

ever ready. He said : " The word reverence means there is absolutely only one Lord." The teachers of morals in speaking of the highest things said that reverence is preparedness,—in Bushidō it is resolution. Is this not a happy and clear explanation ?

As to the interpretation of reverence, (kei) by the word resolution (kakugo), if one did not understand the spirit of Bushidō of course he would not understand this. Going further, how shall we see through this word resolution ? Shōin said : " A true samurai, from the first day of the year to the last, day and night, morning and evening, in action or in quiet, speaking or in silence, is always holding in his heart the fact that he has but one death, and is holding his life to the end in the hope that he may not die in vain. As it is difficult to catch a wild horse and make him stand still, so it is just as difficult for one who does not appreciate the value of his one death to understand how to take care of his life."

And if one is inwardly filled with resolution, how will it show itself outwardly ? He said : " If men stand as citizens of the nation, and are full of loyalty for the whole country, then our country though weak will advance and become strong." The object of his inspiring the people of the country with the true spirit of Bushidō, was simply that the country might expand and get glory abroad. He recognized that to increase the strength of the country, was first to cultivate purity of purpose in individuals. From the time of receiving his education in Matsushita village, he knew surely that those who would wish to move the nation, and up to that time, the power for moving the nation, came from just such means, and from just such places.

It was probably in the writings, of Sokō Yamaga that we find the chief source of Shōin's great loyalty to the Imperial House and it was the ideas of Yamaga that ran all through his discussions about his theory of the state, and the expansion of the national power and Bushidō. However, while Yamaga discussed the theory, Shōin put it into practice ; while Sokō promulgated it, Shōin made it broader. Shōin and Sokō not only

lived in different environments, but each had his own personality, and his own special characteristics. It was certainly fortunate for Sokō that one hundred and eighty years after his time, he should have had a successor of such ability and power.

THE MATSUSHITA VILLAGE SCHOOL. "*Son Juku*."

Shōin's school in Matsushita village was an incubator for ideas and means to overthrow the Tokugawa Government. It was the altar on which was kindled the fires of the Restoration. The late Prince Itō was one of the pupils in this school, as were also Prince Yamagata, the late Viscount Shinagawa, and others prominent in the Restoration period. In the 12th month of the second year of Ansei (1855) Shōin left Noyama prison and was confined in his own house, and was allowed to open a school. His school was supposed to be for the Yamaga system of military science, but in fact it was not this at all, but rather it was a school for teaching the spirit of reform. His lectures were on the great work of reform. The life of this school was only about two and one half years. How is it that this two and a half years had such a great influence on the history of Japan in the years following? How could he have such great influence upon the times? We must answer, that it was in his personality and education, together with the conditions of the times.

Shōin was a spiritual dynamite shell from the hands of the Creator, and was like a dynamite shell when, on coming into touch with some substance, it bursts into fiery flames, and these in turn destroy what they come in contact with. His was a fiery nature indeed, and however slightly warm a place he touched, he burst into flames, and when he burst into flames he consumed everything in his path, of whatever nature it was. This is the kind of description that is given of his deep emotional nature. He was an advocate by nature, and when he came to know people at all intimately he gave them his whole heart. If he loved any one, he loved him with all his might. Often, by a kind of inspiration he mounted to a very high spiritual tide,

and when he came into touch with others he lifted them to the same high plane. This shows his capacity for forming friendships, and in his relations with his pupils he associated with them on the very closest terms. He did not stand aloof and lecture before them but came close to them, and gave them his best personal help. He was so frank that he held nothing back, but gave them his whole heart and so won their entire confidence.

He was forgetful of self and not only appropriated the good from others, but had the ability of causing others to assimilate his own mind and spirit. This was his special characteristic as an educationalist. When he was imprisoned at Shimoda after his failure to go to the United States, he urged the prison keepers to have great respect for their own country, and emphasizing the spirit of humanity, to cast aside immorality, and impressed them so deeply as to be like causing a wolf to weep. Whether he was in the prison in Yedo or in the prison in his own province, his influence was very great over his fellow-prisoners, the prison keepers, and even extended to the prison officials, and they all became his disciples. Wherever he was, the people within his sphere became like himself. How could this be? The case may be said to be like the saying, that even the earth is fragrant in the places where roses bloom.

To speak of the idea of education held in Matsushita village school, we may say that it was not an education of books only, but a really practical education. Laying hold on living facts and directly making this the material for education, they had a great influence in stimulating the people of the times with this living spirit. To give a practical illustration they studied the following questions: "What shall we do in regard to the request from the United States for peaceful intercourse?" "What kind of movement shall we undertake for upholding the Imperial Rescript excluding foreigners?" They made no distinction between learning and the movement towards reform. Their learning was an enterprise, and their enterprise was learning. They believed in sitting down to learn, and in getting up

to put that learning into practice; and even if they failed in getting it put into practice, they were not disappointed if they had been true to their highest moral ideals.

Their learning was not a preparation for another time, but what they studied to-day was to be put into practice to-day, and the responsibility was laid upon them that they must put it into practice. It was as though a teacher of fencing should open a fencing hall in the midst of a battle field. Victory or defeat was a real thing. Those who were victorious lived, and those who were defeated had only to die. The success and failure according to the laws of their examinations were altogether decided in a living drama. Shōin was an eccentric Pestalozzi. He put into practice the great principle of practical education. The point in which he differed from Pestalozzi was that, while Pestalozzi made everything in the world a material for practical education, Shōin made the events of the living world the materials of his practical education. With the sincerity of a child they loved their pupils. They themselves became their companions, and living among them, they even lived in their hearts. In these points there was no difference between the two teachers, but it may be that this eccentric educator was even a more effective teacher than the chief person in the history of education. Shōin was stronger in doing than in saying. In this point, in the East or the West, in past or present, it is no easy task to find any one who excels him as an educator; and with this spirit he imparted what he believed to others. In fact he had such great power as a preacher that he was able to move mountains. In his eyes none were enemies, and none were allies, but all were people to be saved.

He was not a beloved son of society, and neither were his disciples. Rather they were like a party climbing the peaks of the Alps over the snow, who, in order to endure the severe cold of the high altitude, carry each other and embrace each other so that the heat of their bodies together will enable them to keep alive. Distress begets sympathy, and sympathy begets

affection. If the teacher, going before, fails, then his disciples will become greatly stimulated. With the feeling of intimate friendship he trained and encouraged his disciples. As a living example he went before his disciples as a martyr in distress,— nay, he endured martyrdom for his disciples. In such circumstances as this, even if they were cowards, they must rise up; and how much more men of ordinary culture, and much more still, men with a deep feeling of friendship and affection. He said, "Follow me," and went before, so how could they remain inactive in vain? If we think of the time during which Shōin conducted this school, it was a little less than two and one half years, and the place was at first only an eight mat room (12 x 12 feet), in a shabby house of the Sugi family just east of the Hagi Castle in Chōshū (just north of the Shimonoseki Strait), and the school increased by only ten mats and a half. In this small place there were numberless active dramas, and we would not expect that many men prominent in the affairs of the nation could come from such an insignificant place without a real cause. Sometimes the spirit of the times is stirred up by one man, and sometimes a country is brought to defeat by one man, therefore the influence of one person on society should not be underestimated.

THE DESTRUCTIVE MOVEMENT. (*Dageki Undō*).

Shōin's mind-not only showed the tendency of the times, but he went far ahead of the spirit of the times. At first he did not have the idea of forming a destructive party, but when once he felt the necessity of forming such a party, he became its pioneer, because he became convinced of the necessity of breaking up the Shogunate or military rule of his time with all its policies. Although a prisoner in his own home, he became the commander of this movement. He sent a letter to Shigenori Ohara, one in the Imperial Court in Kyoto, asking him to come to Chōshū to urge the Lord of the clan to lead the people of the clan to constitute an army to assist in restoring the Emperor to power.

At first he hoped to bring about the restoration through the Shogunate but failed. Then he thought to bring it about through his two home provinces (Nagato or Chōshū and Suwo) but failed again. Next he hoped to accomplish it through the noble party of the Imperial Court, but this also was impossible. Therefore he gathered together a band of men in sympathy with him to plan to kill Nobukatsu Mabe, an official of the Shogunate. He heard of the plan of many samurai of Mito, Owari, Echizen, and Satsuma to kill Naosuke Ii, because he was one of the strongest men, as Prime Minister of the Shogunate; and because Shōin wished himself to strike the first blow at the Shogunate, he planned to kill Mabe. For this purpose he wished to leave home and go to Kyōto, but was persuaded by two men of the Chōshū government to postpone this plan, for they said they had a plan for the restoration of the Emperor. In the time that he was waiting a change took place in his circumstances, and on account of his violent attitude and utterances he was imprisoned in his own house by his clan government. This was the result of the collision between the conservative party and the destructive party, both of which were hoping for and working for the restoration of the Emperor to his rightful power, and this conflict continued until it was accomplished; and this was finally done through the destructive party. We may say therefore, that as Shōin was the pioneer of this party, although he did not see it, he was the chief figure in the Restoration finally accomplished in 1867.

THE END. *Saigo.*

The Prime Minister of the Shogunate, Naosuke Ii, knew that the loyalists of Mito were working against him, and that they had received a secret rescript from the Emperor. This he could not bear and began to imprison many of them. In the Chōshū clan there was the Nagai party, before referred to, who wished to be in favor with the Tokugawa government, and for that reason they caused the arrest of Shōin by the Shogunate,

and he was brought to Yedo in the sixth year of Ansei (1859). At that time the prison of Yedo was filled with such loyalists, and this has been called by historians, the great imprisonment of Ansei. On the 25th of May, 1859, the sixth year of Ansei, when he received the command to go to Yedo in custody, he was not at all surprised. His behavior in going to this place of punishment was not exactly like a bride-groom going to a banquet, but at least it was like a brave warrior going to battle. In a letter which he sent to Nagai, the head of the party opposing him, he said, that in whatever circumstances he should meet them, he would not wish to cause them or his own clan government any misfortune. He said: "For some time I have severely reproached many for their disloyalty and unrighteousness, so that naturally now I must sacrifice myself to the national distress, and I am quite ready to do it."

In Chōshū, before he left for Yedo, one of the prison officers who was also one of his disciples, took the full responsibility of allowing him to go home to bid farewell to his parents. In spite of the rainy season, Shōin left Hagi Castle on May 26th, and soon after reaching the Mori mansion in Yedo on the 9th July, was sent to the office of the police commissioner, and was called before the supreme court. The court official asked him, "Did you not have a share in the secret plan of Genjiro Umeda?" Answer: "No, I would not even think of talking over ideas with such a fellow."

"Did you not intentionally drop some letters in the Imperial Palace?" "Positively, No, I am a real samurai. I declare positively that I do not do any thing in the dark. There is however, something that I might say. I sent a letter to Sanmi Ohara, and asked him to come to our province to talk with and advise our clan Lord. I also wanted to get together those of a like mind, and attack and kill on the way Mabe." The high commissioner answered, "You are awfully impudent. Prepare yourself for punishment. During the period of inquiry I command you to be put in prison." With this Shōin

was again put in the same prison where he was confined after his failure to go to the United States. At this time therefore, he was in prison, not for his own crime, but for the crime of another, Gentaro Ogaku. However, by his own voluntary confession, he stirred up a hornet's nest, and put himself in the way of his final punishment,—death.

We learn from his letters written in the prison that he made many friends there, and did not give up doing all he could toward the one purpose of his life. He said, "Kannan jisezu to iedomo, anraku, mata jikō ni goza soro." "I do not refuse to suffer, but at the same time I wish to have peace of mind." This truly expresses the spirit of his life in prison, and through the many friends he made in the prison, he was granted many favors. During this time in many ways using every kind of opportunity, he greatly increased his knowledge, and in all his relations, whether with the other prisoners or with his keepers, however adverse his condition was, he showed the most beautifully optimistic nature.

After his trial was over, the high commissioner recommended that he be exiled, but when this came to the Prime Minister, Naosuke Ii, he effaced the word "exile" (流) and inserted the word death (死). When Shōin heard this on the 20th of October, he wrote a farewell to his father and brother and sent it to them. He said "Because of my lack of knowledge, my earnestness was not able to influence heaven and earth; therefore I came to this terrible end, and this will bring great sorrow to you." A poem in this farewell letter is:

"Because the parent heart is beyond the ability of the child to understand, with what feeling will he hear this news to-day?"

The thought of immediate death calms a man and makes him think of the great moral question. Death takes the mask off a man and shows his real nature. Death leads him from the stage to the green room, where the real man is revealed. Let us ask therefore, in such a time, did this restless and active spirit show himself serious and pious? Did he have quiet and

noble moral thoughts? To this question we get an affirmative and positive reply from the letters to his father and brother. "Those, who in the moment of death turn pale and break down with weeping and succumb piteously to death, are not worth speaking of; and those who, pitying the world and despising the times, break out with violent words in facing death, even though they make a pretense of bravery, are not worthy of thoughtful consideration; but rather he who, confessing his lack of knowledge, and in deep repentance obtains everlasting comfort. Such great calmness as this shows the heart of a philosopher. Thinking as far as this, although we cannot deny that Shōin had some defects, yet as a real martyr to principle and virtue, we cannot help thinking of him as a great man; and looking up to, and being greatly attached to, and respecting and loving him. A bird facing death cries piteously but a man in the moment of death speaks noble words. When Shōin knew that death was near at hand, from the 25th of October he began writing the "Record of a Baffled Spirit" (Ryu Kon Roku) and on the evening of the next day he finished it. An extract from this is as follows; "On the ninth of July I thought I should probably die, but I was mistaken, as the trial was very lenient. So again I expected to live, and was very happy. On the 16th I heard that through the conspiracy of three officials I should be put to death, so that now I have no desire to seek for life. Is this the result of my education? Yes." We cannot say that Shōin did not love life, nor can we say that he did not wish to die. He was not like the coward, who being oppressed by something, hangs himself, nor like a crazy man, who, excited by something, tears his bowels open. There is no doubt that he loved life, and wished to avoid death. It was simply that at times there are things more important than death, and to accomplish these he did not hesitate to die. Therefore, while at first he said he had planned to kill Mabe, afterward he said he only wished to advise him. This pretext, however, was of no use at all because Premier Ii had already determined on his death. So

when he knew that he must die, he waited calmly and was satisfied. In the twilight of the 26th of October he finished the "Record of a Baffled Spirit" with this poem.

"Yobi dashi no koe matsu hoka ni, ima no yo ni,
Matsubeki koto no nakari keru kama."

"There is nothing left in the world for me,

But to wait for the voice calling me forth (to death).

When we read such lines as these, we can understand truly, that what he attained in character was by no means small.

Cato, when he was awaiting death read Plato's "Immortal Spirit," Marquis de M. Jean Antoine Condorcet when imprisoned by the Terrorists sat quietly awaiting death at any moment, and yet he wrote a book on the progress of humanity, so deeply did he long for it. Even compared with these, Shōin need not be ashamed, for truly his mind was not at all perturbed by death. Thus on the 27th of October, he was sentenced to death by the supreme court and this sentence is enough to show us how severe the law of the Tokugawa Shogunate was. The reasons for condemning him to death as enumerated in the sentence of the court are briefly as follows.

1. He had tried to go to the United States.
2. In spite of being kept in custody in his own house, he had sent advice to the government about the coast defense.
3. He had opposed hereditary accession to office and had favoured the selection of men of ability by a popular election.
4. He had planned to give his opinion concerning foreigners to the Lord of Shimōsa.
5. These he had done while being kept in custody, which showed great disrespect for high officials."

By this judgment at 10 A.M. on the 27th of October in the sixth year of Ansei, (1859), by the hand of the headsman, his refined and burning and reform-loving spirit was severed from his five-foot body, and caused to ascend to the high heavens. Did he not show in the following poem that he expected this?

"Kaku sureba, kaku naru mono to, shiri nagara,
Yamu ni yamarenu, Yamato damashii."

"Although I knew that I should come to this, if I followed my course, yet my Japanese spirit would not give up."

Although he knew the result of his actions he would not repent, and this is why he was the strong child of the Restoration.

The "Record of a Baffled Spirit" begins with this poem,

"Mi wa tatoe, Musashino nobe ni, kuchinu tomo,
Todome okamashi, Yamato damashii."

"Although my body is cast out to decay on the Musashi plain, yet

My Japanese Spirit will remain."

The following quotation of Mencius was embroidered on my towel which he brought to Yedo, and put in the court room.

"Shisei ni shite, ugokazaru mono wa, inada kore arazaru nari."

The translation of this as given by Legge is as follows,

"Never has there been one possessed of complete sincerity who did not move others."

"This expresses," he says, "what I keep in mind. For several years past there has not been a sincere understanding between the Imperial Court and the Shogunate. I had the conviction that if heaven appreciated my sincere anxiety for the country, the officials of the Shogunate would say that my opinion was good, and yet, like the saying, 'A mosquito trying to carry a mountain,' I have accomplished nothing so far. However I do not blame anyone, for it is simply on account of my lack of virtue. To-day, in my resolution to die I have gotten peace of mind in my observation of the seasons. In the spring we plant, in the summer the seed grows, in the autumn we reap the harvest, and in the winter we store up in barns. When autumn and winter come, the people rejoice over the fruit of the season. There is brewing of *sake* and every one is joyful. We do not hear of any one lamenting at the end of the year that the season is finished. This year I have

attained to the age of thirty, and to die now seems a very regrettable thing, very much like rice which has not been allowed to bear fruit, but as for myself, this even may be the time for fruit-bearing, and if so, there is no reason for me to lament. The length of man's life is not fixed, and in this way it is not like the rice which requires the four seasons for fruit-bearing. The life of even ten years has its own seasons, and it is also the same with those who die at 20 or 30 or one hundred. So with me at thirty my own four seasons are completed, and whether the fruit of my life is good or bad, or whether it is only chaff, I cannot tell. If there are those among my friends, who, sympathizing with my true intentions, succeed to my ideals, then I shall continue to bear fruit in the future. I ask my friends and sympathizers to think of this."

SHOIN AS A FRIEND.

Shōin once criticized himself as a man of feeling, and he was said by another to be a great lump of sympathy. He went far beyond even the Stoic philosophy as an advocate of solemn and sturdy knighthood. There was a fierce fire burning within him that fused everything. If we think of his attitude toward parents, brothers and sisters,—toward teachers, pupils and friends, we must say that he was a model son of Japan. It is enough to know that he was full of feeling, sympathy, faithfulness, simplicity, and good taste; and that he was thoroughly unselfish and impartial. Did he come to be broad-minded through the breadth of his view, or did he come to his broad view-point through his broad-mindedness? I cannot say surely, but both in his touch with people and in waiting on things and events, he always thought from the standpoint of others rather than himself, and we cannot help admiring him for this.

A certain Englishman said, "A gentleman is one who plans for the convenience of others, but who has no time to think of his own inconvenience." Shōin was this kind of a gentleman. He not only showed a great spirit of self-sacrifice

in his efforts on behalf of the country, but in his ordinary daily conduct there was nothing that was not done in this same spirit. By this it seems to me appropriate to say that he was a man not so much of great brain power, but rather a man with a great heart.

In order to carry through his points of insistence he never spared any strength in breaking down all opposition, and it was not at all seldom that as a secondary effect his opponents were personally influenced by his efforts. Even toward Uta Nagai, who by the help of the Shogunate tried to save his clan Lord from misfortune by taking Shōin away from him, he simply had pity for his unwise opinion, and never held any grudge against him.

He scoffed at the lack of spirit in his fellow companions, but this scoffing was because of his love for them. He said, "I am very much attached to the Mito teaching. I believe it contains the true way of Japan, but in their opposition to heretical ideas they are so earnest as to be almost like chasing a runaway pig. Even bees have stings, and it is not even more so with Buddhism which has been spreading in Japan for 1300 years. Man's heart in regard to things to which it is attached, is like a besieging army which must leave some way of escape for the besieged. Do we not know that even a rat, at bay, will fight a cat? So Buddhism, if too severely pressed, will arise and inflict severe injury on its opponents. I want very much to explain this to the Mito teachers, but alas! I am in prison, and there is no help for it. This attitude he held, not only toward Buddhism, but all other questions as well. He had an open-hearted manner in his treatment of everything. In one sense, while he was very strict in his discriminations, yet in heart he held the principle of entire equality. As to his general conduct he said, "I may err in too often believing people, but I swear I should rather do this too often than doubt them"; and again; "It is natural for scholars to take the middle position, but my position is that, rather than *take* by mistake, it is much

better to *give* by mistake, it is better to *die* by mistake, than to *live* by mistake." Shōin certainly followed this principle himself, and on account of this, he made not only ordinary friends, but sympathizers and intimate friends wherever he went. Even when he was in prison, the prisoners, and the prison guards as well became his followers. When he was at home, the old and the young, women and girls became attached to him. When he travelled, wherever he went, earnest men, opening their hearts to him freely brought out the very best they had, and giving all freely, put it entirely at his disposal; although his conduct was always free from any appearance of expecting any such treatment. He always put himself in the position of a debtor. He never asked anyone for anything but was always busy in trying to repay what he felt he owed to others. Even to his death he never gave up his earnest thoughts of thanks to others, and requiting their kindness. He always felt great attachment for his teacher Shōzan Sakuma, and this he showed in many letters to him. In a verse about his companion Kaneko (who attempted to go to the United States with him) we can easily understand that this attempt to go abroad was not simply a foolhardy adventure, but that in it he was sacrificing a great deal of love and affection. The verse is as follows:

"He, Kaneko, was fond of composing poems. One day as we were on a distant road, thoughts came to me too deep for words. Kaneko sang a Chinese poem, 'I do not know where I shall rest tonight. Level sand extends everywhere, and there is no dwelling.' He died without accomplishing his wish, and if we do not tell of his purpose in ink, how can his spirit rest in peace?"

In these four characters, "shin nen, kotoba nashi," "thoughts too deep for words," do we not see thoughts inspired by God? He was always much attached to Miyabe, and with what good will and affection he thought of the like-minded young samurai of his own school we are able to understand from the letter written from the prison only ten days before his

death. This letter was written to Shinsaku Takasugi, then in Yedo, and in it he spoke of his many friends, and urged him when he returned to his own country, to stimulate those of like mind to be earnest in following out the one purpose. In it he sent a message to his own pupils, urging them to continue their study, and to become great men helping the nation out of the difficulties of the time. In another letter written at the same time to the mother of Sugizo Irie and Wasaku Nomura, he shows with what consideration of others he was thinking only ten days before his own death. The following is a summary of the letter."

"I am very sorry for you on account of the ill fate that has befallen your two sons, especially since it is on account of the failure of my plans. This was all however for our Emperor, and we should be willing to sacrifice ourselves for him. Sanmi Ohara says he is willing to give his life, and if he fails will become a priest. He was glad to know of our plan. For you, who are now old, it is pitiful indeed to be deprived of your sons, but if your two sons are sacrificed for the sake of the Emperor, their father would feel that he had not lived in vain. Soshiro Tahara, who betrayed them, had the face of a man, but the heart of a beast. Even if you passed a luxurious life with many sons such as he, you could not be satisfied. I was anxious for your health, but yesterday received word of your recovery, so I am very glad, and trust that you will take good care of yourself."

These two young men undertook to help Shōin in his plan. Sugizo Iriye stayed at home to take care of his mother, while Nomura ran away from home and went to Kyoto, but they failed in their plan, and then the two brothers were imprisoned. Shōin wrote this letter, from his last imprisonment, to their mother to comfort her. The Soshiro Tahara mentioned was the one who betrayed Nomura, and divulged his plan.

Just before being taken to Yedo in his prisoner's chair, his pupils and friends made him a present. All of this he gave to

Yajiro Shinagawa (Late Viscount) at one time Minister of Foreign Affairs, saying,

"I do not need one cent for this journey. Here is my present, I give it all to my father-in-thought, and wish it all to be given to Wasaku Nomura as compensation money."

Even in prison he read many books, and out of his prisoner's daily fare of three *go* of rice (the ordinary allowance is five *go*) he saved one *go* and sold this to repay Nomura who had used a part of his income to forward their plan. If besides there was any remaining over he saved this as a fund for reverencing the Emperor. Even in the time when he was facing death, he could not help thinking in sympathy of things concerning others.

SHOIN YOSHIDA AS A STUDENT.

"The reading of books through the long nights and rainy days of winter becomes the means of cleansing one's soul of sin. He who cleanses his soul from sin is he who gets the benefit of reading books through the long nights and rainy days of winter. The possibility of benefit without some cause does not yet exist. Where there is a real cause the impossibility of benefit does not exist. As I stand under Heaven and call God to witness, this is my conviction." Are not these words of his appropriate as his confession?

Shōin was certainly a reading student. About half of his culture came from the reading of books. He did not, however, love the reading of books for the reading's sake. He often sang one of his own poems as follows:

"When I read ancient writings, I think of them so really that I wish I had been born in those times."

He was as intimate with the ancients as with the men of his own day, and interpreted history for the political policy of the present. He read *Sonshi* for the foreign policy of his time, and on his writings founded his military policy. He read many of the books burned by the Emperor *Ri* of China, and these became the

real essence of his own thinking. He read much, he read widely, and he read continually and carefully, but he did not read heedlessly.

We can understand what grade of student he was by his own testimony as written in his diary of his journey to Kyushu. On the ninth of October, third year of Kaei (1850) the day of his arrival in Hirado, he wrote the following :—" When I came to Ura I declined all invitations to hotels, and went at once to Sanai Hayama's house and paid my respects to him, and according to his advice, stopped at the Kami hotel. I borrowed "Den Shu Roku" (傳習錄) and "Henpi Teki An", (邊備摘案) and that night copied the latter." We see by this therefore, that he so prized a moment of time that without even changing his travelling dress he began to read and copy these books. Before he had been in Hirado ten days, he had borrowed from a certain Samurai Toyoshima the following ten books and finished reading and copying them : one history, one biography, two essays of learned men, one on steamer construction, two on coast defense, and three on diplomatic history.

We can imagine by the following list of books how earnest he was in consuming present-day knowledge—these also read on this trip : two on coast defence, four essays of learned men, one of opinions of a Prefectural Government officer.

The sphere of his reading however, was not limited to the above. At the same time he was reading the very best among the Chinese classics 尙書 Shōsho, he also read three military books on coast defense. In one sense he could not rest without satisfying his spiritual hunger, but to the end of his life this was never really satisfied. He was in Nagasaki only three weeks and in that time, what with making various observations, and much sightseeing, and social intercourse, and visiting he was very busy, but in that three weeks he gave a list of twenty-six books that he read, and as usual copied the most important parts ; for it was his custom, while reading a book, to have his writing brush in hand. In all his life, with the reading of books,

about half the profit came through copying them, and the result was that the books that he wrote made a pile about equal to his own height.

While making the last journey to Yedo in his prisoner's chair, he wrote the following on the first pages of a certain book: "These ten books were originally written for my sake. Even if others should read them they would not understand. My daily distress is reflected in them. All discussion and composition comes from these books." By this we can see that he was not a common reader. He cast aside superficial learning and despised transitory and boastful literature. He also stood high as a writer. I think that in the times before and after the restoration, for clearness and precision, and exactness and strength in saying what he wanted to say, there is no one who can excel him. Although his writing is not flowery, at the same time, not being coarse or vulgar, he does not fall behind the great scholars. As in his short compositions, with one word or a half phrase, he directly hits the mark, and like the thrust of a short sword, he reaches the vital point. Even those who have spent their whole lives in writing cannot easily equal him. Some one has said, "Literary form is character." If this saying is true, it is especially true in Shōin's case.

As to the writing of songs and poems, although this was no more than an outside interest with him, yet there are some with the nationalistic motive which have stimulated the people of the country with a lasting spirit of strong determination. If we compare his last words with those of others, from ancient times to the present, his are the very highest in tone. He wielded the pen, as he did the sword, to reach his aim. He wrote characters like flying, never stopping to make a special draft, but we have no doubt that his feelings were given directly to the pen (brush.) In his writing, the fact that there were few defects was due to the clearness of his thought, and to the uprightness of his character; and he was able to express himself clearly

because he made a careful study of writing, and was not in the least ambiguous.

He did not have a special desire for making literature but his culture was very deep. He heard the lectures of Sessai Morita on "Kōu honki" 項羽本紀 and said that he copied the book four times. If he had wished to stand in the world of literature, I think he might have been in the first rank of that age, but he did not attempt it as that was not his first desire. We have spoken of the fact that the pile of books that he wrote equaled his own height, and their number reached a hundred. The author then gives a list of about one hundred books, some of which are small and not of much importance, but there is no doubt that it is a surprisingly long list for a young man of thirty years.

Shōin did not have a scholarly brain, and did not care to have, but in all his reading and study he held strongly to one fixed point of view.

"Chi o hanarete hito nashi ; hito o hanarete, koto nashi ;
jinji o ronzuu wa, chi yori hajimaru."

"Apart from earth there is no man,

"Apart from man there are no affairs,

"The discussion of human affairs

Begins with the observations of the earth."

In regard to the relation of man and the earth, do we not have here the essential point tersely shown?

His book "Bukyo Kōroku," (Military Lectures) was based on "Elementary Military Teaching" by Yamaga Sokō, and if we compare it with the original, we shall see that his is the more spirited and clearer, and written in a kindlier manner than that of the teacher. Even as a text-book on the Bushido of the country, I doubt whether there is anything better. As to his book on Mencius, "Kōmō Sakki" (講孟割記) even from the time of Mencius to the present, I think there is no commentary so pertinent and precise as this. Some do not like it because it is common, but I feel that out of the common comes a clearness

and an excellence that is overwhelming. I cannot help feeling when reading it that I am sitting by Shōin's side,

As to "Comments and Criticisms of Sonshi" (Sonshi Hyo Chū), in this book we understand very clearly Shōin as a military strategist and as a scholar of administration. The one book however, for which he will be remembered longest is "Record of a Baffled Spirit," (Ryūkon Roku). From ancient times to the present, among the last writings of great men facing death, there are few so clear and calm as this. I regret that I do not have adequate words with which to praise and show my respect for such determination in the last days of a son of Japan. It may not be improper to say however, that it may even be compared favorably with the light of the sun and moon.

SHOIN YOSHIDA IN THE FAMILY.

Shōin wrote of his friend Miyabe as follows: "My friend

Teizo Miyabe is anxious for the country and loyal to the Emperor. He is also most faithful in his association with his friends. I may say, that he is sturdy in his kindness. I was originally quite different from him. Afterwards, as was expected, he was well known in the clan for his loyalty, and officials praised him. About this I said; 'Teizo has a nature full of kindness and sturdiness; he is loyal to the Emperor, faithful to friends, and earnest in serving his parents. That is to say, in loyalty and filial piety, and fidelity, he really had but one heart. How indeed can we help praising him?'"

These words Shōin said about his friend Miyabe, but indeed it seems like he was speaking of himself. To express what he was as a child in the home, and as a worker in society, we may say that in society his activity was like a violent wind and boisterous waves; while in the home he was like the spring breeze fanning hundreds of flowers.

About one-third of his short life, or more than half of his life after childhood, was spent in travel or in prison. But as the sun-flower always turns toward the sun; as the magnetic needle

always points toward the north; as the rivers flow into the ocean, so the heart of Shōin was always turning toward home. When we see him in the family, we think he was almost an angel. He loved his parents and brothers and sisters and uncles and aunts and nephews and nieces with all his heart. He gave up his clan registration with decision, but the very first night he was away from home, he dreamed of his parents and brothers and sisters. When he made his plans for going abroad, he could not bear to say farewell to his brother face to face, but, pacing to and fro in front of the gate of his brother's house in his native province, Chōshū, and shedding many tears, he departed without saying a word. He disliked the saying; "In an army of 300,000 men, departing to attack a foreign country every man will turn the head to look at the moon, with thoughts of home," because he did not consider that it showed the true nature of a samurai; but nevertheless he thought of home in much the same way. His parents were always in his mind. When he determined to kill Mabe, and for this purpose planned to take his friends and go to Kyōto, the letters which he wrote to his parents and brothers would make any one weep to read. His life in the home was a warm, pure life, and we may say that his home was truly an ideal Japanese home. He said; "When I reverently look at my parents and uncle, I see how their conduct is based on diligence and economy and loyalty." And we know from what has gone before, that in this he did not tell a falsehood.

The relation of Shōin and his older brother from the standpoint of character was not quite the same as that between the two noted Chinese scholars, Shiyū and Shitan, disciples of Confucius. His brother was a good type of citizen, and the service that he rendered to the civil administration was not small. The value of his service may be estimated from the fact that he was given the name of (Tamiji) "People's Ruler" by his clan Lord. Their devotion to each other was even greater than in the case of the two Sō brothers, Sotōba and Sorōsen, famous Chinese poets. While he was in prison, at the New Year's

time, he wrote and sent the following poem to his brother, "As the morning sunshine is melting the snow from the eaves, I am thinking that the plum trees of my native home will be blooming." Do we not see his unceasing affection boiling up in this poem? That home is most happy in which there is happy relation between husband and wife. Shōin was a bachelor, but in great love he was married to the State. He knew well, however, the important place of woman in the home and also in society. After his failure to go abroad, while in the Noyama prison he stimulated a fellow prisoner, Yurin Tominaga, to translate "Admonition to Women" by Sō Daika, a Chinese scholar. Shōin said: "However strong a man may be in following the way of Bushido, if his wife goes astray, the home will not be properly taken care of and the training of the children will be neglected; therefore, how important it is that they should both lead pure lives! If we have typical mothers and chaste women, we shall have obedient children and loyal citizens, as was the case with Kusunoki, Kikuchi, Yūki, and Uryū."

If we compare his wise views with those of ordinary patriots, they are not only unable to equal him; but as to nobility and purity of character, and as to courage and strength; between him and those villains who drink sake, and in that excited state call themselves patriots, there was as much difference as between Heaven and earth.

In a letter to his sister he expressed his views on the work of women something as follows. The position of women in the home is very important indeed; for on them is the responsibility of bringing up the children, and up to ten years of age their home teaching and training is the most important feature of their development. They must not be taught in books only, but must have a proper example of character or behavior set before them as well. He held that the training of children should begin before they are born. Even from the first moment of conception the mother should keep her mind pure, and should not entertain the least thoughts of base or mean motives,

for from that time the bent or characteristics of character have their beginning. And as the mother should take great care to keep physically strong to insure a physically strong child, so the child should also have a moral and spiritual inheritance. A wife should respect her husband and serve faithfully her mother-in-law. She should hold in reverence her ancestors, for this is the way to preserve the customs and traditions of the home, for a home has its history like a country, and one should always bear in mind and seek to preserve the former fame and good reputation of the home.

As to his religious belief he wrote the following: "You should respect the Gods. We call Great Japan the Country of the Gods, for it was the Gods who first opened our country. So all who are born in Japan, whether noble or common, should not make light of the Gods. There are many who have faith in the Gods, but most of them are mistaken in their belief. To come before the Gods, and worship by clapping the hands, and to pray for success in the world and long life is a greatly mistaken idea of religion. The Gods like honesty and purity, therefore to worship the Gods, the first thing is to have an honest mind and to purify one's body; and then with no selfish purpose in the heart, to come before the Gods in a worshipful spirit. This is real faith in the Gods. A certain old poem is as follows:

"Kokoro dani, makoto no michi ni, kanainaba,
Inorazu to temo, Kami ya mamoran."

"If our hearts are in accord with the truth, even though we do not pray, God will watch over us."

Again we have a colloquial saying that, "God dwells in the head of an honest man." We should remember well this other saying also. "Where there is faith there is virtue." It is not necessary to worship Buddha, but neither is it necessary to speak ill of him.

There are six rules of the Sugi family,

1. To reverence the ancestors.

2. To worship the Gods (Shinto).
3. To be on intimate terms with all relatives.
4. To devote oneself to learning.
5. Never to go astray after Buddha.
6. Personally to spend some time in cultivating the fields."

"This is a living picture of Shōin's family.

The above is what he wrote at the age of twenty-five, and it shows his true heart as he thought of the affairs of the home.

When he failed in his plan to go abroad, his determination to sacrifice himself to save the country from great peril became very ardent. His plan which he held in his own breast was sure to break out like a great volcano that in eruption shoots great flames to heaven. How did he find time to write so kindly and politely, letters so full of good admonition to his sisters? These letters show very clearly what Shōin was in the home.

When he was being taken to Yedo as a prisoner, he wrote to his sisters, "Always keep in mind, you who are to become mothers, that it is the usual thing for a samurai to die." This is the same sentiment as was expressed before when he said that a samurai never forgot that he had but one death to die.

When he overheard in the prison about his punishment, he wrote to his father and mother,

"Oya o omiou, kokoro ni masaru, oya gokoro,
Kyo no otozure, nan to kikiran?"

"The parents who love more deeply than the child can understand,

With what feelings will they receive this news
to-day?"

Even to the time of his death he never could forget his parents.

The great affection of the child towards the parents is simply a response to the parent's love, as the strings of a musical instrument respond to sounds of the same tone. From what we know of Shōin we cannot doubt the truth of the saying that we look for loyalty in obedient children.

REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1916.

*Read and Approved at the Annual General Meeting,
January, 1917.*

The following is an account of the Society's work during the year 1916:—

The number of General Meetings held during the year was eight. The dates of the meetings, together with the lecture or paper given at each, were as follows:

January 19th (At H. B. M. Embassy)—Lecture on "The Idea and Practice of Moral Legacy in the Japanese Family," by Professor M. Anesaki, Ph.D., of the Imperial University.

As this was the Annual General Meeting the lecture was preceded by the presentation of the annual report of Council for the year 1915, and the election of officers. Afterwards refreshments were served through the courtesy of Lady Lily Greene.

February 16th (At Keio University)—Lecture on "Nōsatsukai" (The Placard Society), by Professor Frederick Starr, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago.

March 15th (At the American Embassy)—Lecture on "A Quarter Century of Constitutional Imperialism in Japan," by Professor E. W. Clement.

April 26th (At Unity Hall, Shibazonobashi)—Lecture on "The Ainu Bear Festival," by Dr. N. Gordon Munro.

May 17th (At Keio University)—Lecture on "Gnosticism and its Possible Relation to Some Forms

- of Mahayana Buddhism." by Rev. Charles F. Sweet.
- June 21st (At Keio University)—Lecture on "Some Guesses at Truth about Japan," by J. W. Robertson Scott, Esq.
- October 18th (At Keio University)—Lecture on "Some Impressions of the South Sea Islands," by Professor Inazo Nitobe. Ph.D., of the Imperial University.
- November 19th (At Keio University)—Paper on "Purport of the Principal Shinto Oracles in the Warongo, or Japanese Analects," by Professor Genchi Kato, Ph.D., of the Imperial University.

WORK OF COUNCIL.

Council meetings have been held regularly during the year. The Council have to report the following matters which have occupied their attention :

(1) PUBLICATIONS.

The Society published Volume XLIV in two parts :

Part 1.—55 p.p. containing *The Old Geographer, Matsuura Takeshiro*, by Professor Frederick Starr, and *The Crucifixion of the Twenty-six in 1597*, by the Rev. C. F. Sweet.

Part 2.—472 p.p. containing *Elements of Japanese Law*, by J. E. de Becker, Esq.

In addition to the above a Supplement containing the Constitution, By-Laws, etc., was printed. Volume XX, Part 1, was reprinted, and other reprints were begun.

(2) ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE.

The Organization Committee begs leave to report, respecting contributions, that, in addition to lectures delivered during the calendar year 1916, (eight in number), as reported by the

Recording Secretary, there are five (5) lectures to be delivered before the Society which have now been arranged for; that seven (7) papers have been accepted for publication in the *Transactions*, during 1916, some of which are already in press; that one (1) paper is now under consideration; and that nine (9) papers are known to be in preparation at the present time, with intent to offer them to the Society. The Committee would take this opportunity to call attention to the fact that, while the quality of papers now being offered is eminently satisfactory, the number being offered is so small as to call for earnest consideration.

The report of Council to the annual meeting held in January 1916 contained the Organization Committee's classified list of contributions of a biographical nature to the Society's *Transactions*, together with suggestions for further biographical work. Similar lists and suggestions relating to Religion and Philosophy, and to Economics and Industry, had been presented at the 1915 meeting. The Committee now presents the following classified list, with further suggestions:—

PAST CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE SOCIETY ON SUBJECTS RELATED TO SCIENCE.

Papers contributed on subjects related to Science are mostly of a general character and do not readily fall into a clear-cut classification; so that the group headings set forth below are but approximate indications of the nature of the papers contents. Many contributions are mainly descriptive; others, dealing with Industries, do not enter into or take up the scientific aspects of those Industries. Several were made by men who were in Japan for a limited period of years and who were prevented from supplementing their first papers by further contributions. At the present time Japan has fewer foreign scientists or technical experts than were employed in the early days of Meiji; hence the possible contributors on scientific subjects have in recent years been distinctly limited in number.

The group titles below aim at being the simplest in use.
 BIOLOGICAL NOTES. (Faulds VI : 2).

MAN AND RELICS OF MAN.

- Crania of Formosan Botans (Eldridge, V : 1).
- Human Remains (McClatchie, VII : 2).
- Stone Implements in Hokkaido, (Milne, VIII : 1).
- Sepulchral Mounds in Kaudzuke, (Satow, VIII : 3).
- Pit Dwellers of Yezo and Kuriles (Milne, X : 2).
- Origin of Japanese Race (Dooman, XXV).
- Primitive Culture in Japan (Munro, XXXIV : 2).
- Prehistoric Survivals, (Munro, XXXVII : 1).
- Some Origins and Survivals (Munro, XXXVIII : 3).

BEASTS.

- Systematic Position of the Itachi (Brauns, VIII : 3).
- Itachi (Pryer, XIII : 1).

BIRDS.

- Catalogue of Birds of Japan (Blakiston and Pryer, VIII : 2).
- Birds of Japan (Blakiston and Pryer, X : 1).
- Corvus Jap. Bonaparte (Brauns, XII : 3).
- Corvus Jap. (Pryer, XIII : 1).
- Long-tailed Fowls in Tosa (Chamberlain, XXVII : 1).

REPTILES.

- Mamushi (Eastlake, XIII : 1).

INSECTS.

- Coleopterous Genus Damaster (Lewis, IX : 2).
- Lepidoptera of Japan (Pryer, XI : 2, XII : 2, XIII : 1).
- Lepidoptera in Japan and Great Britain (Pryer, XIII : 2).

SPONGES.

- Hyalonema Mirabilis (Hadlow, I).

PLANT AND PLANT-LIFE.

- On the Increase of Flora in Japan (Savatier, II).
- Japanese Woods (Geerts, Smith and Lindo, IV).
- Ainu Arrow Poison (Eldridge, IV).
- Cotton in Japan (Poate, IV).
- Introduction of Tobacco (Satow, VI : 1).

- Food Plants in Japan (Kinch, Geerts, XI: 1).
- La Vigne du Japon (Dautremer, XIV: 2).
- Landscape Gardening in Japan (Conder, XIV: 2).
- Ainu Economic Plants (Batchelor and Miyabe, XXI).
- List of Plants from Formosa (Henry, XXIV).
- Cultivation of Bamboos (Satow, XXVII: 3).

EARTH'S SURFACE.

- Geography of Japan (Satow, I).
- Deep Sea Sounding (Belknap, II).
- Bonin Islands (Robertson, IV).
- Caroline Islands (Robertson, V: 1).
- Evidences of Glacial Period in Japan (Milne, IX: 1).
- Zoological Indications of Japan's Connection with Continent
(Blakiston, XI: 1).
- Pacific Depth off coast of Japan (Belknap, XIX: 1).

PHENOMENA ON AND OVER THE EARTH.

- Typhoons 1872 (Nelson, I).
- Winds and Currents near Japan (Brown, II).
- Meteorological Observations (Hepburn, II).
- Climate of Nagasaki 1872 (Geerts, III: 2).
- Winds and Currents of Japan (Scott, IV).
- Temperature, Japanese Waters (Dupen, IV).
- System of Atmospheric Electricity needed (Ayrton and
Perry, V: 1).
- Meteorological Observations in Japan (Veeder, V: 1).
- Climate of Japan (Rein, VI: 3).
- Visibility of Mountains from Tokyo (Veeder, VII: 2).
- Karuizawa Summer Climate (Knott, XIX: 3).

EARTH'S INTERNAL PRODUCTS.

- Japanese useful Minerals, and Metallurgy (Geerts:—Iron,
Copper, Lead, Silver, III: 1; Quicksilver, Gold, IV;
Arsenic, V: 1).
- New Mineral, Leinete (Luedeke, IX: 3).
- Petroleum at Nagaoka (Newell, XXIII).

METEORITES.

Two Japanese Meteorites (Divers, X : 2).

EARTHQUAKES AND OTHER EARTH MOVEMENTS.

Earthquake Measurement (Perry and Ayrton, V : 1).

Destructive Earthquakes in Japan (Hattori, VI : 2).

Volcanic Mountains in Japan (Marshall, VI : 2).

Earthquakes recorded in Tokyo (Chaplin, VI : 2).

Recent Earthquakes (Ewing, IX : 1).

Movements of Earth's Crust (Milne, XXII : 3).

Volcanoes of Japan (Bruce-Mitford, XXXVII : 1).

PHYSICAL FORCES, ETC.

Strength of Japanese Woods, experimental (Smith, IV).

Japanese Woods (Lindo, IV).

Specific Inductive Capacity of Gases (Perry and Ayrton,
V : 1).

Earthquake Measurement (Perry and Ayrton, N : 1).

Use of Fire-drill in Japan (Satow, VI : 2).

Origin of the Water-wheel (Troup, XXII : 2).

ARCHITECTURE.

Constructive Art in Japan (Brunton, II and III : 2).

Constructions, Brick and Wood (Cawley, VI : 2).

MUSIC.

Primitive Music, especially of Japan (Syle, V : 1).

Japanese Musical Intervals (Veeder, VII : 2).

Music of the Japanese Piggott, XIX : 2).

Gekkin Musical Scale (du Bois, XIX : 2).

Japanese Musical Scales (Knott, XIX : 2).

MATHEMATICS.

The Abacus (Knott, XIV : 1).

PRINTING.

Early History of Printing in Japan (Satow, X : 1). Korean
Movable Types; Early Japanese Printed Books (Satow,
X : 2).

MEDICINE.

History of Medical Progress (Whitney, XII : 4).

Sanitation in Japan (Burton and Seymour, XVII : 2).

Japanese Patent Medicines (Royds, XXXV : 1).

Japanese Medical Folk Lore (Clement, XXXV : 1).

INDUSTRY INCLUDING CHEMICAL INDUSTRY.

Many of the older papers, particularly those on water supply and water analyses, have no longer any special interest, owing to changed conditions. Later researches on mineral waters and mineral springs have also modified the findings of some papers on these matters. The following papers are still of interest and might be made the basis of new papers bringing the various subjects up to date.

Preparation of Vegetable Wax (Gribble, III : 1).

Japanese Fisheries (Gregory, V : 1).

Chemical Industries of Japan (Atkinson, VII : 4).

Porcelain Industry of Japan (Atkinson, VIII : 2).

Agricultural Chemistry of Japan (Kinch, VIII : 3).

Manufacture of Sugar in Japan (Ota, VIII : 4).

Japanese Tea (Gribble, XII : 1).

Lacquer Industry (Quin IX : 1, Korschelt and Yoshida, XII : 3).

Salt Manufacture in Japan (Wileman, XVII : 1).

Railway System in Japan (Trevithick, XXII : 2).

Petroleum Industry at Nagaoka (Newell, XXIII).

Japanese Agriculture Part I Fertilizers (Struthers, XLI : 2)

SUGGESTED SUBJECTS FOR FUTURE CONTRIBUTIONS IN SCIENCE AND RELATED SUBJECTS.

It is practically impossible to expect purely scientific contributions, or even treatment of the strictly scientific side of Industries; such matters are nowadays mostly restricted to technical journals, etc. There is however a long range of subjects, with relations to Science, on which valuable papers might be written: such contributions would be welcome. The following indicate a few such subjects:—

1. Modern Hygiene and Sanitation in Japan.
2. Medicine during the last 20 years in Japan.
3. Electro-chemical developments in Japan.
4. Up-to-date developments in Japan in the Cotton, Silk, Sugar, Copper, Iron and Steel Industries.
5. Transportation Development (by land and water) in the last 50 years in Japan.

Further papers of at least historic interest might give, for any scientific subject :—

- a. Investigation into what was or is known about it in Japan.
- b. The bearing of local conditions on the subject dealt with.

(3) LIBRARY.

The List of books purchased or added to the Library by gift comprises the chief part of this Report.

The Librarian has compiled an Index by titles and by authors of the books on Religion and Philosophy. Each list has 112 titles.

This will be printed and distributed as early as possible. Copies too will be made available for the general public.

The Librarian commends the Library to the special notice of all our members.

The following books have been added to the Library of the Society during the year :

- *Meiji Seitoku Kinengakukaikiyo, No. 6.
- *E. W. Clement.—A Short History of Japan.
- F. H. Davis.—Myths and Legends of Japan.
- *I. Nitobe.—The Japanese Nation.

The Japan Evangelist, Vol. XXII, 1915.

The Christian Movement in Japan, Eleventh Annual Issue, 1913.

The Christian Movement in Japan, Twelfth Annual issue, 1914.

The Christian Movement in Japan, Thirteenth Annual issue, 1915.

*M. Polo.—The Travels of Marco Polo.

*List of Ancient Monuments in Burma.

*Indian Archaeological Policy, 1915.

*S. C. Das.—An Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan Language.

*J. E. Jasper en M. Pirngade.—De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indie.

*E. W. Clement.—Constitutional Imperialism in Japan.

*P. Cordier.—Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

*M. Anezaki.—Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet.

*Charlotte M. Salwey.—Lines on the Sokui-Shiki of H.I.J. M. Yoshito.

Yamada, N.—Ghenko: The Mongol Invasion of Japan.

Gubbins, J. H'—The Progress of Japan, 1853—1871.

(4) AMENDMENTS.

CONSTITUTION :

The Council has recommended the adoption of the following amendment, indicated in italics :

Art. XXIV. The Council shall have power to make and amend by-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance, provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution, *provided that due notice of proposed amendments shall have been given at a previous meeting of Council.* A General Meeting, by majority vote, may suspend the the operation of any By-Law.

BY-LAWS :

Amendments to By-Laws (as indicated in italics) have been adopted by the Council during the year, as follows :

Art. III. The place and time of meeting shall be fixed by

*Gifts.

the Council, preference being given to 4 p.m. on the 3rd Wednesday of each month; *but the Secretary may alter the time and place of meeting in emergency.* The place of meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.

Art V. The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be :—

- (1) Action (*if any*) on Minutes of the last meeting.
(otherwise unaltered)

Art. VI. The Council shall appoint its own meetings, preference as to time being given to 3.30 p.m. on the 1st Wednesday of each month; *but the Corresponding Secretary may convene special meetings in emergency.*

Art. XII. The Recording Secretary shall :—

- (1) Keep Minutes of *meetings of Council and of*
General Meetings.
(otherwise unaltered)

Also the following *Additional By-Laws* have been adopted :

ACCEPTANCE OF PAPERS.

Art. XXII. It shall be the ordinary practice of the Council, before accepting a proffered contribution to the Transactions, to refer the same to a Committee of two or more members for formal report; and the Committee shall be at liberty to consult qualified persons outside of the membership of the Society if thought desirable.

STANDING RESOLUTIONS.

Art. XXIII. Standing Resolutions, if any, adopted by the Council for its guidance, shall lapse if not readopted at the first Council meeting after the Annual General Meeting.

(5) REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Following last year's Report, the circular sent out to 100 leading Libraries of the U.S.A., drawing attention to the publications of our Society, was answered by two definite orders for a

complete set of our Transactions and by two or three individual subscribers commencing from date.

With the Treasurer the Secretary has discussed the expediency of supplementing the previous circular (sent 1st May, 1915) by some further notice. As the question of revising the price charged for our past numbers of Transactions was and is in abeyance, it was thought best to defer action, but it is recommended to the in-coming Council to take the matter up again early in the coming year.

The Libraries referred to as ordering the Transactions are :

The Ohio State University Library.

The University of Washington (Seattle) Library;

(6) HONORARY TREASURER'S REPORT,

RECEIPTS,

To Balance brought forward 31st December, 1915 ...	491.49
To Memberships	1,510.50
(A) Annual Subscriptions ...	1,130.00
(B) Arrears paid up ...	60.00
(C) Life Subscription a/c ...	225.50
(D) Library (30 years) ...	...
(E) Entrance fees	95.00
To Transactions sold	494.87
To Murdoch's History Vol. I sold	100.00
To Interest, exchange and sundries	15.75
To Translation paid	30.75
	<hr/>
	<u>2,643.36</u>

EXPENDITURES.

By petties for Secretaries, Editor and Treasurer ...	252.85
By Librarian	205.00
(A) Assistant	140.00

(B) Cataloging	50.00	
(C) Insurance	15.00	
By Rent, Meetings		252.50
By Transactions		842.12
(A) Vol. 44 part 1	174.24	
(B) Reprinting Back numbers, etc.	222.47	
(C) Packing and Distribution...	203.42	
(D) Advertising ... ..	...
(E) Insurance... ..	124.35	
(F) Other per contras	117.64	
By Murdoch's History Vol. 1		17.00
By Balance carried forward		1,073.89
		<u>2,643.36</u>

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS 1912 TO 1916.

RECEIPTS.

	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.
To Membership	1550.00	2224.00	1752.50	1523.00	1510.50
" Transactions sold	774.15	651.54	649.64	247.00	494.87
" Murdoch's History sold...	913.29	252.20	163.06	125.00	100.00
" Interest & Sundries...	103.75	171.25	73.30	70.96	46.50
Total	3341.19	3298.99	2538.44	1967.96	2151.87
Balance brought forward ...	2458.94	2083.28	1876.11	348.90	491.49
	<u>5800.13</u>	<u>5382.27</u>	<u>4514.35</u>	<u>2256.86</u>	<u>2643.36</u>

EXPENDITURES.

By Transactions published ...	716.54	2132.71	3589.47	1178.20	842.12
" Murdoch's History	1603.00	57.59	3.62	26.25	17.00
" Library	782.00	683.05	172.00	234.96	205.00
" Administration... ..	213.42	290.40	118.55	73.06	252.85
" Rent & Sundries	401.86	222.46	257.16	247.90	252.50
" Furniture	—	119.95	24.85	—	—
Total... ..	3716.85	3506.16	4165.62	1765.37	1569.47
Balance carried forward ...	2083.28	1876.11	348.90	491.49	1073.89
	<u>5800.13</u>	<u>5382.27</u>	<u>4514.54</u>	<u>2256.86</u>	<u>2643.36</u>

MEMBERSHIP.

There have been recorded during the year 4 deaths, 5 resignations and 2 names have been removed for non-payment of dues or on account of communications from the Society being returned undelivered. On the other side 22 new members have been elected.

Honorary Members on roll of Society	...	26
do living	...	6
Life Members	... ..	152
Annual Members	... ..	282
Libraries (30 years)	... ..	16
Libraries (annual)	... ..	7
		<hr/>
Total	... ..	463

PROPERTY.

The most recent report of the stock of Transactions from the agents is at 18th December 1916. The property of the Society may be put as follows :-

Balance carried forward	... ..	1,073.89
Transactions as at	... ..	14,000.00
Murdoch's History Vol. 1 say	...	1,000.00
Library (insured value)	... ..	5,000.00
		<hr/>
Total	... ..	21,073.89

The Transactions are now written down to an average of below *Sen* 50 per copy and Murdoch's History Vol. 1 to *Yen* 2.25 per copy.

SUGGESTED BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

(REVISED LIST.)

- 572-621 A.D. Became SHOTOKU TAISHI, Imperial prince, states-
Regent 593. man, apostle of Buddhism, "Japanese
Constantine."
- 614-669 A.D. FUJIWARA KAMATARI, statesman.
733-799 A.D. WAKENO KIVOMARO, loyalist.
767-822 A.D. Began DENGYO DAISHI (Saicho), founder of
building Hieizan Tendai Sect.
788 A.D.
- 774-835 A.D. Began KOBO DAISHI (Kukai), founder of *shin-*
building Koyasan gon Sect.
816 A.D.
- 845-903 A.D. SUGAWARA MICHIZANE, statesman and
scholar; deified as *Temman Tenjin*
and later as "God of Calligraphy."
- 1041-1108 A.D. MINAMOTO YOSHIE, (Hachimantaro),
general (history and legend).
- 1118-1181 A.D. TAIRA KIVOMORI, statesman and general.
1147-1199 A.D. MINAMOTO YORITOMO, founder of the
Shogunate.
- 1159-1189 A.D. MINAMOTO YOSHITSUNE, general (history
and legend).
- Died 1189 A.D. MUSASHI-BŌ BENKEI, priest and warrior
(history and legend).
- Died 1208 A.D. KUMAGAI NAOZANE, warrior and priest
(history and legend).
- Died 1189 A.D. MONGAKU SHONIN (Endo Morito), knight
and priest (history and legend).
- 1133-1212 A.D. HONEN SHONIN (Genku), founder of the
Jodo Sect.
- 1174-1268 A.D. SHINRAN SHONIN (Kenshin Daishi), found-
er of the *Shin* Sect.

- 1141-1215 A.D. EISAI ZENJI (Zenko Kokushi), founder of *Rinsai* branch of the *Zen* Sect; introduced the cultivation of tea into Japan.
- 1200-1253 A.D. DOGEN ZENJI (Shoyo Daishi), founder of the *Sodo* branch of the *Zen* Sect.
- 1251-1282 A.D. HOJO TOKIMUNE, 6th Kamakura Regent (*Shikken*). Repelled the invasion of the Mongols.
- 1294-1336 A.D. KUSUNOKI MASASHIGE, general, loyalist.
- 1301-1338 A.D. NITTA YOSHISADA, general, loyalist.
- 1305-1358 A.D. ASHIKAGA TAKAUJI, first Ashikaga *shogun*.
- 1521-1573 A.D. TAKEDA SHINGEN (HARUNOBU), general.
- 1530-1578 A.D. UESUGI KENSHIN (TERUTORA), general.
- 1534-1582 A.D. ODA NOBUNAGA, general and statesman.
- 1542-1616 A.D. TOKUGAWA IYASU, founder of the Tokugawa shogunate.
- 1627-1705 A.D. ITO JINSAI, Confucian scholar, founder of the *Fukko-ha*.
- 1666-1728 A.D. OGIU SORAI, Confucian scholar.
- 1630-1714 A.D. KAIBARA EKIKEN, Confucian scholar.
- 1628-1700 A.D. TOKUGAWA MITSUKUNI (MITO KOMON), historian and loyalist.
- 1677-1751 A.D. OOKA TADASUKE (ECHIZEN NO KAMI), judge.
- SEKI KOWA, mathematician (originator of calculus seven years before Newton).
- 1758-1829 A.D. MATSUDAIRA SADANOBU (RAKUO), statesman.
- 1780-1832 A.D. RAI SAN-YO, historian and loyalist.
- 1815-1869 A.D. II NAOSUKE (KAMON NO KAMI), statesman (concluded the treaties which opened Japan to foreign intercourse).
- 1802-1901 A.D. ITO KEISUKE, botanist (botanical research in 1829 A.D.).

Meiji :

PRINCE SANETOMI SANJO, statesman, one of the leaders in the Restoration.

PRINCE TOMOMI IWAKURA, statesman, one of the leaders in the Restoration.

COUNT YOSHIKUNI KATSU, statesman, founder of the Japanese navy.

VISCOUNT TESSHU YAMAOKA, celebrated swordsman and paragon of *Bushido*.

SAIGO TAKAMORI, general and statesman.

KIDO KOIN, statesman.

OKUBO TOSHIMITSU, statesman.

IWASAKI YATARO, founder of modern business.

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI, educationist and introducer of Western thought.

COUNT MUNEMITSU MUTSU, diplomatist and statesman.

MARQUIS JUTARO KOMURA, diplomatist.

PRINCE HIROBUMI ITO, statesman.

Taisho :

GENERAL COUNT KITEN NOGI, general of *Bushido*.

PRINCE TARO KATSURA, general and statesman.



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